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Yugoslav Miners' Strike in Kosovo Reported

AU0308093689 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 3 Aug 89

["Workers' Strikes in Kosovo—The Average Incomes in This Province Are Equal to Half of the Country's Average Incomes, Whereas Unemployment Is Three Times Higher Than That of the Whole of Yugoslavia"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 3 (ATA)—As the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG reports, about 500 miners of the Stari Trg mine of Trepca, in the vicinity of Mitrovica, are on strike in token of protest because they are not paid for the month of June. The strike started on Monday in the evening when 240 miners of the third shift stopped working, who were joined by the miners of the first and second shifts. The talks conducted between the strikers and the leaders of the mine have had no result until now, TANJUG underlines, adding that possibilities exist for other strikes in Stari Trg and in various enterprises of Mitrovica. The reports of the British news agency REUTERS say that the number of the striking miners reached to 700 and that the strike is extended in other branches of industry. Referring to an information of the Belgrade Television, this agency reports that the workers of enterprises in Mitrovica have also interrupted work for not being paid during June.

The newspaper RILINDJA of Pristina wrote recently that the price rise and inflation is more perceptible in Kosovo than in other parts of Yugoslavia. While the cost of living for June increased averagely by 29 percent for the whole country, in Kosovo it was 32.3 percent. The newspaper also reports that the average incomes in this province are half of the country's average ones. Meanwhile, the official data indicate that unemployment is three times higher than the average of the entire Yugoslavia. At the end of the last year 133,182 people were looking for jobs, out of whom 40 percent have finished the secondary school, and about 4,200 people had graduated from the higher schools.

Nako on Role of Financial System in Economy

AU0208194389 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 25 Jul 89 pp 1-2

[Interview with Minister of Finances Andrea Nako: "Tasks, Solutions, and Prospects"—"Finances and the Movement To Raise Production Efficiency" by PUNA editor Artan Kristo]

[Text] [Kristo] Comrade minister, one month has elapsed since the start of the national action to further raise production efficiency. The financial organs have a considerable role to play in this. Our readers would like to know about some of the tasks, objectives, and concrete results of the initiative in the field of accumulation and the efficiency of social production.

[Nako] The personnel of the financial system are following closely the progress of this movement in all sectors of the economy. We have set ourselves a number of concrete tasks and aims. The pledges made by the workers class to increase industrial production, the volume of construction and installation work, and the volume of services by 192 million leks over and above the 1989 plan, to increase exports by 35 million leks, and to reduce imports by 5 million leks—these pledges are being followed continually and are being supported. Financial accumulation is expected to be increased by 9 million leks over and above the current year's plan and losses are expected to be reduced by a further 10 million leks. What is important is that 60 percent of the target will be reached through a reduction in production costs, the major part of which will be accounted for by reducing norms in the use of raw and other materials, as well as increased labor productivity. The improvements in the financial indicators take concrete form, additionally, in the contributions made by enterprises to the state budget. These contributions are expected to be about 70 million leks more than in the original plan, while the financing of state expenditure is expected to be reduced by about 15 million leks.

The fact that the pledges are now being applied concretely is positive. Thus, the state budget income for June was exceeded by 2 percent. The overwhelming majority of districts have fulfilled and even exceeded their obligations for the first half of the current year and the overall state budget income was 7 percent higher than in the corresponding period of the previous year. The districts of Tirana, Korce, Lezhe, Kruje, Permet, Sarande, Skrapar, and so forth, have achieved the best results.

However, Fier, Mat, Puke, and some other districts, and their enterprises, are required to make greater efforts in following the example of the more advanced districts and enterprises, since they have created deficits during the first half of the current year.

[Kristo] It is obvious that profit losing enterprises and activities are a "burden" on the economy. What is being done specifically to eliminate these losses?

[Nako] The elimination of losses in specific districts, enterprises, and activities represents a considerable possibility in raising production efficiency and accumulation resources. The planned acceptance of profit losing enterprises for a number of objective reasons can only be considered as a temporary factor. However, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, the ocurrence of unanticipated losses should be an unusual phenomenon. Understanding this, a number of enterprises, such as the Gjegjan and Fushe-Arrez copper mines, the Bezhan coal mine, the Bulqize communal services enterprise, as well as some other enterprises, have eliminated or reduced their respective planned losses.

The fulfillment of production tasks in both quantity and quality, and at the lowest possible cost, represent the major factors in eliminating losses. It is precisely on this point that attention must be centered by some agricultural enterprises, the Sarande oil-drilling enterprise, the Durres and Vlore fishery enterprises, as well as some other enterprises. They must eliminate the excessive norms in the use of raw and other materials, as well as fuels and electricity, and they must improve the socialist organization of labor and labor discipline in order to eliminate their losses.

The financial, banking, and control organs have a considerable role to play in all this. They have drafted a program and are adopting measures to better tackle problems pertaining to production and distribution, as well as to prevent harmful phenomena through operational analyses and the consolidation of economic and financial control.

[Kristo] Another nationwide initiative of considerable importance is the one to speed up the construction of production projects. What has been the role of the financial organs in this direction? What benefits have been derived with regard to efficiency?

[Nako] The initiative to reduce construction schedules in production and other projects represents another powerful movement which, in the final analysis, leads to the increased efficiency of investments. These account for 40-45 percent of the state budget expenditure. As soon as the movement started, the financial organs determined their tasks in following up and supporting this initiative with financial assets. Closer cooperation and closer links were established with the construction and investing enterprises. The initiative confronted us with the task of improving our method and style of work. The commissioning of 175 production projects ahead of the original schedules will result in increased industrial output worth 20-25 million leks, financial accumulation will be exceeded by about 3 million leks, and the balance of trade will be improved by about $600,000. The acceleration of construction schedules in various irrigation projects will increase the irrigation capacity by 600 hectares, while the irrigation of an additional 12,000 hectares will be improved.

[Kristo] One aspect of the revolutionary initiatives supported by the Politburo concerns the reduction of imports and increased exports. What is the role of the financial organs in this?

[Nako] These problems have always been and remain at the center of our attention. However, concrete and rapid solutions are now needed more than ever before. The tasks confronting us following the national aktiv on exports and imports require our efforts to be intensified. In addition to a number of problems tackled by the Ministry of Finances directly or in cooperation with other departments, such as the study concerning the possibility of using phosphorites from the area of Gusmar, the use of pyrite ash deposited in Lac, and so forth, we are also tackling a number of other problems involving district financial organs to further improve the financial mechanism. Thus, in the context of the great movement to reduce imports and increase exports, we are studying the question of the pricing of some domestic raw materials and industrial by-products which can successfully replace, either fully or partially, imported raw and other materials.

[Kristo] Financial control represents a strong barrier against abuses of socialist property. What will be done to further strengthen it?

[Nako] The control organs have attached particular importance to tackling the economic aspects of production, distribution, and consumption, combining these with the financial indicators. Particular stress has been placed on raising the preventive potential with regard to shortages or surpluses, damage, and violations of financial discipline. The detection potential has been increased. We have said that every controller should carry out 4-5 unannounced spot checks monthly, in addition to regular checks, thus making prevention more efficient and making things much harder for dishonest elements.

However, despite the achievements, financial control has not quite risen to meet the requirements of the current stage of the country's development. The control-auditing organs are therefore confronted with the task of intensifying the adopted measures and of improving their method of work.

Production processes in the second and third shifts, material utilization norms, the establishment of interoperational documentation, the establishment of suitable conditions for the correct administration of property, and so forth, will be some of the major areas in which control is to be intensified. Particular attention will be paid to strengthening internal control in enterprises and institutions.

[Kristo] Are financial problems appreciated everywhere to the same degree that production plans are? What else needs to be done?

[Nako] The coordination of financial and economic indicators is one of the fundamental questions pertaining to the drafting and implementation of plans. A better harmonization of these two aspects has been observed in numerous enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and institutions as a result of the implementation of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings and Comrade Ramiz Alia's constant instructions. The active role of finances in promoting production, improving the structure of commodities, in the rapid distribution of goods, and so forth, has grown in a number of enterprises in the districts of Vlore, Tirana, Durres, Lushnje, and so forth. However, a lot more remains to be done in this field.

There are cases of managers of enterprises, cooperatives, and state and economic organs, who neglect the financial aspects, considering them to be an automatic "result" of the economic aspect of production, instead of viewing them as an essential prerequisite in securing the necessary financial resources to ensure the continuity of production and as important instruments of managerial accountability. Strengthened cooperation with the workers and cooperative members, as well as with the trade union organizations, is needed to eliminate these cases. Efforts have been made in this field at the planning stage, the periodical economic and financial analyses carried out, and in the course of implementing the production tasks. It must be admitted, however, that there are also manifestations of formalism in this, because the financial and planning experts do not always make the effort to explain the full meaning of various indicators to the workers and the members of agricultural cooperatives.

We must therefore intensify our efforts to strengthen cooperation with the trade unions in tackling the financial aspects of production and the economic and financial control and auditing in enterprises.

Foreign Ministry Condemns Lebanese Hostage-Taking
AU0208174589 Sofia BTA in English
1655 GMT 2 Aug 89

["Gross Offence Against International Law"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 2 (BTA)—The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria stated before a BTA representative:

We are following with great concern the dangerous developments in the situation in Lebanon and are particularly worried by the fresh escalation of tension. The kidnapping of one of the leaders of the Lebanese Shi'ite community, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim 'Ubayd, by the intelligence service of Israel is a gross offence against international law and violation of universal norms. The link between this action and the subsequent execution of the American Colonel William Higgins, who until February this year was deputy commander in chief of the UN Forces in southern Lebanon, is obvious.

We resolutely condemn this act which poses a threat of further enhancement of the terror in Lebanon and puts the lives of other hostages at stake.

Bulgaria is still calling for common sense and restraint. We are convinced that similar actions on the part of Israel or any killing of hostages will result only in a further escalation of violence in Lebanon and will additionally complicate the explosive situation in that country.

Turkey Accused of Planning To Use 'Army Factor'
AU0208122089 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI
in Bulgarian 1 Aug 89 p 3

[Lyubomir Gabrovski article: "At the Epicenter"]

[Text] The policy of Turgut Ozal's government related to Bulgaria continues to be a target of criticism. Within only a few weeks the nationalist faction in Turkey's political life, which is represented by a considerable number of ministers from the ruling Motherland Party, succeeded in forcing the "Bulgarian Muslims" issue upon the attention of public opinion by disregarding all other economic and political problems (which are particularly unpleasant for the government). The ministers continue to declare that the "army factor" should be used in foreign policy and propose, for example, to hold military exercises in Thracia, to transfer one or two army divisions to this area, or suggest that Ozal should go to the border, accompanied by the commander in chief of the army's general staff. This does not mean war with Bulgaria; nevertheless, it is supposed to be the "language Bulgaria would understand." In this connection, a Western diplomat in the Turkish capital made the (not quite unfounded) remark that involving the army factor in the question would be likely to create an anti-Turkish mood, because dialogue, rather than a firm attitude, is characteristic of the present world atmosphere.

In evaluating the scope of the "Bulgarian question" which developed as a result of the "nationalists'" tactics, another group of Turkish politicians decided that the question should be dealt with under the aspect of the human rights issue. This approach, for which it which is was difficult to find arguments, concealed an unpleasant surprise for those who are really interested in the observance of human rights in Turkey.

The cautious reactions to the issue eloquently express the reluctance of interested third countries in becoming directly involved in the dangerous theory of Turkish diplomacy about a "strategic minority," and stress their disapproval over the lighthearted manner in which Ankara is trying to take advantage of the "minority issue" as a political lever. It is an established fact that the Muslim population in our country has happened to be at the epicenter of political cyclones, and it is also a fact that certain politically active members of the Bulgarian Muslims were instigated from the outside. The recent events are an immediate result of Ankara's propaganda and politics. The efforts to use the Muslim population as a "strategic minority" are reprehensible. With such actions the Turkish Government jeopardizes the Helsinki process, which requires tremendous efforts and consistency.

FRG Magazine's Turkish Border Article Rebutted
AU0208165689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 1 Aug 89 p 5

[Dimitur Khadzhinikolov commentary: "The Truth Is Transparent"]

[Text] The West German magazine DER SPIEGEL is well known as a serious journal which, on many occasions, sided with the truth in disclosing scandalous affairs. This explains my surprise in reading Erich Wiedemann's report about the situation on both sides of the Bulgarian-Turkish border in today's issue. The improbable presentation of certain facts could be attributed to the author's lack of information about the situation influenced by the intensive Turkish propaganda campaign. Nevertheless, where are the sources of information about alleged tortures, killings, searches, and so forth? It is quite evident that they are provided by servile informers in the camps on the other side of the border, near Edirne. Two reporters from STERN, the second largest West German magazine, recently described an episode occurring in that area which was marked by a considerable dose of black humor. A man was standing near a large amount of luggage and was telling lies to the journalists, claiming that the Bulgarian authorities allegedly did not permit him to take anything with him, except one suitcase. The same man was

reported adding, that one of his fellow-citizens had been beaten nearly to death in Bulgaria and his tongue had been cut up, so that it had to be sewn up in Turkey....

The people who are "sewing tongues" seem to be are very talkative, since they managed to provide so many details and tell so many stories to the SPIEGEL reporter. They told about two young people who had been tied to lamp posts by Bulgarian soldiers in the streets of Tolbukhin and whipped unconscious, and about people being deprived of their bread rations, which condemned the undutiful to starvation.... On the other hand, in the case of the story about children leaving for Turkey who were allegedly innoculated with the AIDS virus, the source, namely Istanbul dailies, was indicated. Why did the reporter not show his natural journalist's curiosity and further investigate this story—a trait for which DER SPIEGEL has become famous. Perhaps we would have understood what is hidden behind the "sensation" and not only people in Edirne, or Istanbul, but also in Sofia would have assisted him in his research.

Truth, however, occurs in several passages of the report in question, and what is most interesting, wherever truth manages to come through, like a strong chemical substance, it dissolved the black color of disinformation.

The truth emerged particularly strongly at the end of the feature story where the depressing atmosphere of the camp near Edirne is described. The story of the tractor driver from Tolbukhin who was disappointed with his reception in Turkey is particularly sad. To begin with, the Turkish customs officials confiscated his passport, just to "check," it as they said, after which he was robbed by black marketeers, who did not even leave him cigarette money. He would like to return to Bulgaria, but the "informers" seem to have done their job in convincing him that his house in Tolbukhin was allegedly robbed, and his wife and children he left behind had departed for an unknown destination.

Nevertheless, it does not appear clear from all this, whether the "informers" were able to convince the SPIEGEL reporter, as well. His feature story remains "without any comment." Or, perhaps, the comment is contained in the last passage which describes a large poster at the entrance of the Turkish territory, on which the word "Welcome" is inscribed in conspicuous letters, while at the same time, the first large group of 52 families who are returning to Bulgaria, assembled in the middle of July.

Bonn, 31 July.

Zhivkov Receives Palestinian Envoy Credentials

JN0208203289 Sanaa Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Brother Isma'il Muhammad Abu Shammalah, ambassador of the State of Palestine to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, presented his credentials to Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, on Monday as the first ambassador and plenipotentiary extraordinary of the State of Palestine to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

During his presentation of the credentials, the Palestinian ambassador conveyed the personal greetings of Brother President Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, and to the government and friendly people of Bulgaria for the great role played by the People's Republic of Bulgaria in supporting the Palestine question and championing our Palestinian people's rights.

After presenting the credentials, a meeting was held between the Palestinian ambassador and the chairman of the Bulgarian State Council. During this meeting, the Bulgarian chairman expressed his heartfelt thanks to Brother President Abu 'Ammar for the personal greeting he sent to the Bulgarian chairman, government, and friendly people.

The chairman of the Bulgarian State Council asked the Palestinian ambassador to convey his heartfelt wishes of good health, happiness, and further success in the responsibilities and activities carried out by Comrade Yasir 'Arafat for the well-being of the Palestinian people and for achieving their inalienable, national rights to self-determination and establishment of their independent state. He also praised highly the historic decisions adopted by the Palestine National Council's 19th session and the realistic and constructive policy of the PLO to resolve the Middle East conflict.

Chairman Zhivkov reaffirmed his country's complete support for our Palestinian people and the PLO to achieve the highly responsible mission and to develop and reinforce ties of friendship between the Bulgarian and Palestinian peoples.

France's Marchais, Communist Delegation Arrive

AU0208180489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, a delegation of the French Communist Party led by its general secretary, George Marchais, has arrived in Bulgaria.

At Sofia Airport the guests were welcomed by Comrades Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev.

Assembly Commission on Human Rights Documents

AU3107201389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] A joint session of the National Assembly permanent commissions on foreign policy and environmental protection discussed the preparation for the forthcoming European ecological meeting scheduled to take place in October 1989 in Sofia.

A report submitted by Nikolay Dyulgerov, chairman of the environmental protection permanent commission, and by Stefan Todorov, executive secretary for the meeting, pointed out that favorable conditions for the organization of the Ecoforum in Sofia are being created. A wide range of ecological problems will be discussed and new forms and methods will be established for international cooperation in this field. The National Organizational Committee and the operational office are already functioning, and regular meetings and consultations are being held for the preparation of draft documents and for the total preparatory work for the meeting. The decision adopted by the commission approves the work of the National Organizational Committee, recommending at the same time that representatives of social organizations, companies, and scientific institutions should be more intensly involved in the preparatory work.

Following this, the Foreign Policy Commission of the National Assembly was briefed on the work and results of the Paris meeting on the CSCE Human Dimension Conference and of the London Information Forum of the states participating in the all-European process. The commission approved the work of the Bulgarian delegations at the aforementioned forums, and their active, constructive, and creative approach to the problems discussed.

Decisions were adopted in support of the supremely humanitarian goals of the Human Dimension Conference of the all-European process, aimed at further progress in implementing all the basic human rights of the individual. The trend toward active, businesslike, constructive, and mutually advantageous cooperation which conforms to the spirit of the new political thinking was approved.

At the request of the State Council chairman, and in accordance with the regulation code on the work of the National Assembly, the Foreign Policy Commission, jointly with the leadership of the Legislative Commission, discussed the proposal of the Council of Ministers on ratifying of the two additional protocols to the Geneva Convention on Further Consolidation and Development of International Humanitarian Law.

The conclusion adopted by the commission stresses the great importance of the two following protocols and recommends that the State Council ratify them. These are the additional protocol on the defense of victims of international armed conflicts, and an additional protocol related to the defense of victims in armed conflicts of a non-international nature.

The ratification of these documents will be an expression of Bulgaria's humanitarian policy.

The sessions were chaired by Milko Balev, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission.

Changes to Social Security Regulations Published

AU0208120189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Aug 89 p 2

[Text] Issue No 59 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK publishes the following more important acts:

—Decree No 1,469 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria dated 27 July 1989 on amending Decree No 2,415 on converting the "Georgi Dimitrov" Higher Special School under the Ministry of Internal Affairs into the "Georgi Dimitrov" Higher Institute under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The most important change is that students accepted at the "Georgi Dimitrov" Higher Institute who have not completed their military service will be considered to have completed their regular military service during their training at the institute, provided that they successfully complete the complete course.

—Council of Ministers Decree No 34 of 21 July 1989 on amendments and additions to the acts of the Council of Ministers relating to social security. Amendments and additions are adopted to the Regulations on Applying the Law on Pensions, the Regulations on Applying Section 3 of the Labor Code of 1951, and the Regulations on Classifying Labor at Retirement. The size of the pension is calculated on the basis of the average gross monthly wages received, with an upper limit of 140 percent of the basic pay defined in the workers' labor contract, and not exceeding 130 percent of the basic pay of the remaining categories of staff. When the pension or part of it has not been deducted [not specified from what] it is contributed by the enterprise, institution, or organization at its own expense with 12 percent annual interest, without being collected from the pensioner. If the nondeduction has occurred because of the fault of the pensioner, the latter repays to the enterprise, institution, or organization the amounts contributed to the State Social Security. A number of other changes are also made.

—The Ministry of Justice has published the Agreement between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the State of Kuwait on legal and judicial aid in civil and criminal cases.

Burgas Oblast Party Committee Plenum Reported

AU3107140889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Jul 89 p 2

[Mitko Bozhkov and Tsanko Raychev report from Burgas: "Deeds Are Criteria for Maturity"]

[Excerpts] Burgas, 28 July—Everything necessary should be done in order to make 1989—which was not an easy year—effective, and to fulfill the plan, as well as to achieve an intensive renewal. The party organizations and the Communists are greatly responsible for transforming the adopted measures into significant initiatives. Such were the main conclusions prevailing at the

plenary session of the Burgas Oblast Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Plenum. Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and BCP Central Committee secretary, participated in the session. [passage omitted]

Instead of going into detail about the proceedings at the session, let us give the floor to Nikolay Zhishev, first secretary of the BCP Oblast Committee, who read the main report, stating as follows:

Numerous facts indicate that many state and economic leaders have not yet overcome the habit of attributing all their own mistakes and shortcomings to objective difficulties. Many of them emphasized this, primarily by using phrases such as: "I was not provided with this and that," "I was not supplied with this and that," or "this and that was not done for me," and so forth. It is justified to ask: Who should provide us, or supply us with this and that? This terminology should evidently be increasingly replaced by more categorical and self-critical statements, such as: "We failed to fulfill this and that task," "we failed to supply this and that, we did not look for this and that," and "we failed to provide this and that." The requirement for personal responsibility, economic independence, and a loyal relationship with one's business partners should increasingly put a stop to departmental interests and to the habit of hiding behind other people's problems and difficulties. This is the "alphabet" of success under the conditions of company-based organization. [passage omitted]

Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and BCP Central Committee secretary, declared as follows: This plenum is taking place at a remarkable time, it coincides with the second anniversary of the historic July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee. For this reason, it was quite correctly stressed both in the report and in the debates that the political and organizational work related to plan fulfillment should be accomplished on the basis of the July strategy principles which were specified at the December Plenum and on the basis of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's recent report, entitled: "On Some Fundamental Problems of our Economic Restructuring."

The problems pertaining to our economic development are of primary importance for the revolutionary renewal of socialist society in our country. It is very important to have a stable economy. For this reason an open discussion is under way within the party today. The Communists and the working people in our oblast submitted their positive results at this plenum. This shows that restructuring has involved the labor collectives, that it has become a nationwide cause. We have no reason for pessimism, but we should not become self-complacent either. We are just about to work out a new model for the Bulgarian economy.

The speaker further noted numerous problems connected with the introduction of company-based organization, with gathering a rich harvest, with the requirement to improve administrative-management structures, with more severe party criteria related to the cadres. Grisha Filipov pointed out the existence of reserves and opportunities to overcome the current difficulties and to produce additional goods.

The chief criterion for our accomplishments should not be the simple compensation for losses, or the mere fulfillment of current tasks. We are expected to provide all the necessary conditions for the overfulfillment of the annual plan, Comrade Grisha Filipov stressed. This will serve the country's further dynamic development. The present progress of restructuring in Burgas Oblast and within the country as a whole, as well as all the experience we have accumulated in the past, confirm the correctness of the July Plenum strategy, Grisha Filipov stated.

The problems discussed at the Burgas Oblast Plenum are of decisive importance for the present and future of Burgas Oblast. The Communists were assigned the role of heading the efforts for better organization, order, and discipline, to open up the opportunities for creative thought and actions. Deeds are the most correct criteria for the party's maturity and purpose-oriented approach.

Dissident Havel Questioned on 'Sentences' Appeal

En Route to PEN Club Meeting

AU0208123789 Paris AFP in English
1215 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Prague, Aug 2 (AFP)—Vaclav Havel, the Czech playwright and opposition leader, was seized outside his house Tuesday and interrogated for three hours by police, he said here Wednesday. He was questioned about a petition, entitled "A Few Phrases" which called on the authorities to hold "a real dialogue" with the Czech population, and which has been signed by 11,500 people since its publication on June 29, he said.

Mr. Havel was on his way to a meeting of the Czech section of the PEN Club, a writers' association which has been revived over the past few days after 10 years of inactivity. The club is led by Jiri Mucha, son of the famous Czech painter Alfons Mucha who died in 1939.

After the interrogation, Mr. Havel managed to get to the meeting before it closed.

The PEN Club sent a letter, adressed to Czech President Gustav Husak, calling for the release of Ivan Jirous, a leader of undergound Czech culture, imprisoned since October 1988 and condemned in March to a 16 month sentence. The group also sent a message to the Polish, Hungarian, Soviet and Lithuanian branches thanking them for their support.

Members of the "official" Czech writers union, met with dissident writers during the meeting.

FRG Protests Action

LD0208212889 Hamburg DPA in German
1859 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Bonn/Prague (DPA)—Czechoslovak writer and civil rights activist Vaclav Havel was detained around midday in Prague today on the way to lunch in the FRG Embassy. The Foreign Ministry in Bonn confirmed this this evening in response to an inquiry. No reasons was given for the arrest.

The Foreign Ministry has protested the arrest, describing it as a "serious occurrence." The FRG ambassador in Prague was instructed to lodge a complaint with the CSSR foreign minister about the arrest. In Bonn, the CSSR ambassador is to be summoned.

Released After Questioning

AU0308083689 Paris AFP in English
0123 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Prague, Aug 2 (AFP)—Czechoslovak playwright and human rights activist Vaclav Havel was released late Wednesday after being detained for the second time in 24 hours. The playwright said he had been questioned by police for 11 hours. He had been detained earlier as he was about to leave home for a lunch appointment with the West German ambassador.

Bonn sent a formal protest over the "serious procedure" which it said was contrary to the provisions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The playwright was recently awarded a "peace prize" by West German publishers which he is to receive later this year at the next Frankfurt book fair.

On Tuesday Mr. Havel, 52, was seized outside his home while on his way to a meeting of the recently re-formed Czechoslovak section of the international PEN Club.

He said afterwards he had been interrogated for three hours by police and questioned about a petition he helped to organise, which calls on the authorities to hold "a real dialogue" with the Czechoslovak population. He said the intention of the police was to dissuade him from remaining in Prague during August, in the run-up to the 21st anniversary of the Warsaw Pact military intervention that crushed the 'Prague Spring' reforms in 1968.

"The police led me to understand that my presence in Prague would be undesirable and that they would take a dim view of it if I were to appear in public in the next few days", he said.

Mr. Havel has been imprisoned several times by the Czechoslovak authorities.

PEN Club Committee Meets, Elects Chairman

AU0108154989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
29 Jul 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Meeting With Members of the PEN Club"]

[Text] Prague—At the invitation of Milan Kymlicka, minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, members of the PEN Club committee held a meeting in Prague on Friday [28 July], with Miroslav Valek, chairman of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers, in attendance.

The members of the club's committee briefed the minister on their activities to date and asked the Ministry of Culture to actively support their work. At the same time, the committee reported that it has elected writer Jiri Mucha as chairman, and the writer Josef Nesvadba, a doctor of medicine, as deputy chairman.

AFP Report on 'Few Sentences' Appeal Rebutted

LD0208130689 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] An official French news agency has reported what is described as an informal anti-government protest in Prague on Monday. Radio Prague's Milan Suchanek has sent us the following comment:

[Suchanek] When the French agency AFP reports that it has spotted Martians or other extraterrestrial visitors in Prague, that news should be taken with a pinch of salt. On Monday it reported that several hundred activists of a group calling itself the Initiative for the Demilitarization of Czechoslovak Society allegedly had staged a protest in a square in the central Prague. However, no such protest took place. Instead, crowds mingled peacefully in the square's traditional miniature pleasure park, complete with merry-go-rounds. What the AFP really did was echo the wishful thinking of the United States financed radio stations the Voice of America and the Radio Free Europe.

Needless to say that this style of reporting has nothing to do with a journalist etiquette code and much less so with good taste. Suffice to recall the hullabaloo around the recent petition known as "Several Sentences" whose purpose was to mislead people in Czechoslovakia and also in the West. In reality this so-called manifesto in defense of democracy and signatures attached to it is a manifesto of principally those groups which resent socialism. In their hunt for signatories it shows that they will not shy away from brazen deception. If not, why would they fake the signatures of several well-known and less known Czechoslovaks who do not have and (?do not wish) to have anything in common with the objectives of that pamphlet?

Television Announcer Denies Signing Appeal

AU0208094989

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 1 August carries on page 1 a 600-word article by Marie Boudova entitled "Lies Have Short Legs," which condemns Radio Free Europe and Voice of America for naming in their broadcasts prominent Czechoslovak signatories of the "A Few Sentences" appeal, among them Zdena Varechova, a Czechoslovak television announcer.

In this connection, Boudova quotes a 100-word statement by Varechova denying that she signed the appeal.

Prague Aktiv Meets, Condemns 'Illegal Groups'

AU0308091389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Aug 89 p 1

[CTK report: "We Have Sufficient Strength and Energy To Intensify the Position of Socialism; A CPCZ Functionaries' Aktiv, Members of the People's Militia, and Members of the National Security Corps Assembly"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Yesterday a city-wide assembly of the leading Prague Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] functionaries' aktiv, members of the People's Militia, and members of the National Security Corps was held in the Congress Hall at the Palace of Culture. Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, delivered a speech on the topical political tasks attached to the enforcement of restructuring and democratization. [passage omitted]

Thirteen of the aktiv's participants spoke at the discussion. [passage omitted]

The assembly paid particular attention to the current attempts at destabilizing our society and discrediting the socialist system which are being made by various illegal groups. The discussion's participants sharply and fundamentally rejected these attempts which are disrupting peaceful work and which are, first and foremost, aimed at disorienting the younger generation. For example, Vladimir Simek from the Prague Public Security City Administration pointed out that these groups are not concerned about seeking starting points and correcting the mistakes and errors which we made in the past, but that the main motive for their activity is the attempt to introduce confusion into society and to engender mistrust of the CPCZ's policy and the socialist state. [passage omitted]

Jaroslav Fapso, foreman at the Metrostav state enterprise, turned to the signatories of the provocative "Few Sentences" appeal and asked them to once again consider their position, with which they very thoughtlessly gave support to antisocialist forces, and to distance themselves from them in time. [passage omitted]

At the end of the assembly its participants approved a letter addressed to the CPCZ Central Committee.

The city-wide assembly of the leading Prague CPCZ functionaries' aktiv, members of the People's Militia, and members of the National Security Corps, in which Rudolf Hegenbart, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, Frantisek Kincl, CSSR minister of the interior, Miroslav Novak, chief of the People's Militia Main Staff, and Lieutenant General Emil Liska, representative of the CSSR minister for national defense and commander of the Prague garrison, also participated, ended with the Internationale.

Retail Price Increases, Reductions Announced

AU0108164889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Jul 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Announcement by the Federal Price Office; Changes to the Retail Prices of Some Consumer Products"]

[Text] Prague—The Federal Price Office has announced that, with regard to conditions in manufacturing and in the domestic market, the retail prices of some consumer products will be increased or reduced effective 31 July 1989. The changes arise out of the need for the new economic mechanism to increase the task of value instruments, including prices. This will partially resolve

the disharmony between supply and demand in the domestic market and will eradicate some unjustified subsidies from the state budget for retail prices as well as above-average taxation.

Retail price reductions will apply to groups of goods or individual products which are in sufficient supply in the market and which are prevented from being sold more widely because of today's high prices. Prices will be reduced in: selected groups of cotton and synthetic fabrics for suits and coats, by 41 percent; woolen and synthetic knitwear, by 23 percent; thermal products made from a combination of cotton and synthetic yarn, by 19 percent; videocassettes (blank), by 30 percent; tape-recorder cassettes (blank), by 24 percent; compact-disc players, by 16 percent; Lyubitel camera equipment, by 23 percent; Mikma and Charkiv electric shavers, by 18 percent; silver and gilded jewelery, by 50 percent; silver, gold, and products containing semi-precious stones, by 17 percent.

With effect from the same date, the retail prices of some goods which are in short supply in the market and which are highly subsidized from the state budget will be increased. These increases do not apply to goods which satisfy the staple needs of the population. Prices will be increased in: industrial fertilizers, by 32 percent; potassium-based fertilizers, by 37 percent; combined fertilizers, by 59 percent; preparations for protecting plants by 23 percent; insecticides, by 35 percent; veneers and plywood, by 29 percent; utility and decorative porcelain, by 19 percent; wooden floor coverings, by 77 percent; peat products, by 29 percent; hand pumps and spraying equipment, by 37 percent; Christmas trees, by 32 percent; spa wafers, by 41 percent. At the same time, within the framework of the above-mentioned average prices, the prices of porcelain and Christmas trees will be increased or reduced.

The retail prices of compotes, including compotes for diabetics, and frozen fruit (peaches, raspberries, blackberries, bilberries, cranberries, strawberries, mandarin oranges, and apricots) which are in short supply will be increased by 69 percent.

The retail prices of Destilla II cigarette papers, in packs of 100, will be increased from Kcs1.50 to Kcs4; Destilla III from Kcs1.60 to Kcs4.40; the Special brand from Kcs2 to Kcs4.40; and the price of smokers' matches will be increased from Kcs0.20 to Kcs0.30 per box. The prices of other types of matches will not change. Concerning other products, the prices of fasteners (buttons) made from mother-of-pearl will be increased by 138 percent, and sepia bones for exotic birds will be increased from Kcs4.50 to Kcs10.

The costs of spa care for patients paying for themselves, which has been making a loss for a long time, will be further increased during the season by an average of 88 percent, and off-season prices will be consolidated by agreement. The new costs of spa care for people paying for themselves will come into effect on 1 January 1990 (at the beginning of the new season).

The price of having a private vehicle painted will rise by an average of 40 percent.

At the same time, the decision has been made to project the new retail prices of selected types of compotes and frozen fruit into the prices of public catering and refreshments, ice cream, sugar, and some milk products, and also into the above-mentioned products if prepared in shops according to their individual recipes. The extent of these revisions in public catering and products prepared in shops represents Kcs50 million per annum. The retail prices of similar products produced by the milk and bakery industry will not change.

Concerning construction and assembly work, geodetic and cartographic services, veterinary services, and some materials and spare parts for repair services, the measures of the price organs will be made invalid by the temporary unchangeability of the prices charged to the population. At the same time, reductions and increases are being discussed which will have a less significant impact on the population's expenditure and which will lead to an administrative simplification.

At the same time, the ban on changing retail prices which have been consolidated by an agreement between a supplier and customer will be rescinded where, temporarily, subsidies from the state budget have been in force since 1 January 1989. Subsidies will continue to be retained in the agreed prices of fruit, vegetables, products sold in ESO [chain of stores which sell high quality, often imported foodstuffs for korunas] outlets, selected groups of toys, and Christmas decorations.

Official on Reasons for Changes

AU3107143689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with Candidate of Sciences Kamil Mikulic, first deputy minister entrusted with managing the Federal Price Office, by Svatopluk Smutny: "On the Changes to Retail Prices; Actively Influencing Production and Consumption"—date, place not given]

[Text] A number of changes to the retail prices of certain types of goods will take place effective 31 July 1989; these changes will involve price reductions and increases. For a more detailed explanation of the above-mentioned CSSR Government resolution we asked Comrade Engineer Kamil Mikulic, candidate of sciences, first deputy minister entrusted with managing the Federal Price Office, to grant us an interview.

[Smutny] What do the changes to the retail prices represent?

[Mikulic] They are a further step toward the gradual rationalization of the retail price system.

[Smutny] What has led to the above-mentioned rationalization?

[Mikulic] The main retail prices problem is concentrated in the detachment of the level and relation of retail prices from the prices applicable to production, in the suppression of the function of retail prices as a criterion and the ensuing utilization of a significant volume of appropriations for retail prices from the state budget, in the present relationship between the prices of food and industrial goods, and in the problems associated with this in consumption and production. But the failure to use the effectiveness of the retroactive effect of retail prices on production is also involved. The complexity of retail prices is a consequence of changes in wholesale and purchase prices, the cost prices of imports, and other factors.

[Smutny] You mentioned appropriations from the state budget. What do these mainly involve?

[Mikulic] These mainly involve foodstuffs, but also some types of industrial goods. Last year these amounted to roughly Kcs70 billion, including a negative turnover tax [zaporna dan z obratu]; this year, after the implementation of the restructuring of wholesale and purchase prices, they are estimated at approximately Kcs90 billion. As Premier L. Adamec recently stated, for every food purchase at a price of Kcs100, Kcs40 is supplemented from the state budget to balance out the difference between retail and wholesale prices. In some cases, the negative turnover tax reaches 70 percent of the wholesale price.

[Smutny] Has there been a negative turnover tax concerning items whose retail prices are now being increased?

[Mikulic] This has occurred in almost all items. For example, in industrially manufactured fertilizer this accounted for 24.2-37.1 percent of the wholesale price, in chemical preparations for 18.7 percent, in cigarette papers for 62.6 percent, and so on. By increasing retail prices, negative turnover tax is practically eradicated. However, it is necessary to add that the increased prices do not involve essential needs.

[Smutny] But, for example, gardeners need fertilizers....

[Mikulic] This is true but we also know from experience that they often consume them inordinately, so the price review contributes a little to environmental protection.

[Smutny] A reduction in the prices of some types of goods will also take place. Will people not associate this with the attempt to get rid of unsalable, idle goods?

[Mikulic] The reduction of retail prices will involve those groups of goods or individual products for which sufficient capacity and raw material prerequisites have been created in order to increase their domestic production, or for which the present level of retail prices puts a restraint upon an expansion of consumption. Stagnating sales lead a retail outlet to limit orders; this in turn leads to a non-utilization of production capacities, and also hinders the requisite innovation. However, I would like to stress that a reduction in prices is only one of the prerequisites for the consumers' greater interest in these products. It will depend more on how quickly manufacturers react in innovating the product mix, first and foremost, in the stylishness of design and colors. Let us not forget that the function of prices is also to actively influence production and consumption.

[Smutny] I would still like to ask you the question which our reader, J.M. from Prague 6, recently sent to us. He has found out from someone, whom he does not name, about the printing of new price lists valid for increasing the prices of basic foodstuffs and even about the printing of ration cards in case of some kind of crisis....

[Mikulic] That is absolute nonsense! No such price lists for foodstuffs and, even less so, ration cards have been printed and nor will they be printed. Every sensible person can consider and see for himself that our market is, on the whole, well supplied with food.

[Smutny] Thank you for the interview.

Trade With Developing Countries Outlined

AU0108094889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Jul 89 p 6

[CTK report: "Latitudes and Longitudes of Cooperation; Trade With Developing Countries"]

[Text] Czechoslovakia's annual trade exchange with developing countries reaches a level of almost Kcs11 billion. Practically two thirds of Czechoslovak exports are destined for Arab countries. Countries from Sub-Saharan Africa account for 6 percent of this trade. The Arab countries account for 24 percent of our imports and African states 7 percent. As a consequence of high indebtedness, the inability of some countries to meet their accounts payable in foreign economic relations is increasing. Instead of the assumed significant increase in the mutual exchange of goods with the CSSR, we have, therefore, in recent years recorded a decline. Despite this, these countries are an important market for the export of entire investment units and plant equipment. Therefore, forms of commercial cooperation are being sought in which our accounts receivable are partially paid off with interesting goods for our economy.

Dissatisfied Employees Complain to Stepan

AU0108152089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Jul 89 p 2

["ada"-signed report: "Deadline for Solution: 15 September"]

[Excerpts] Prague (Our correspondent)—The state enterprise Prague Communications was established on 1 July. Together with it—as an independent organization—the Technical Communications' Administration was set up, which formerly used to be part of the enterprise. And precisely these reorganizations have become the reason for considerable dissatisfaction among the employees of Prague Communications, which—together with concern about the enterprise's further economic performance—they described in a letter addressed to Miroslav Stepan, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee.

In the letter they pointed out, among other things, the unnecessary increase in administrative work and the ensuing reduction of their wages. [passage omitted]

The letter, together with the strained situation in the enterprise, became the reason for Comrade Miroslav Stepan to pay a visit to the employees of Prague Communications. [passage omitted]

The main part of his visit was devoted to talks with the employees and to the concerns they expressed in the letter. In view of the considerably contradictory views of the employees of Prague Communications and the representatives of the Technical Communications's Administration and the National Committee of the capital of Prague, it was decided to set up a commission of impartial experts, whose task will be to assess all the questions. The entire affair should be definitely resolved by 15 September. In this connection, Comrade Stepan stressed that no question must remain unanswered. He assured the employees that the City Committee will once more return to their complaint before the aforementioned deadline, and should there really be an increase in the administrative work as they have pointed out, matters will be immediately rectified. [passage omitted]

Size of Border Zone Reduced Effective 1 Aug

AU0208122389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "A Reduced Border Zone; The Issuing of Permits Has Been Simplified; The Changes Come Into Effect From Tuesday 1 August"]

[Text] Prague—As of Tuesday 1 August 1989 changes will come into effect in the border zone arrangements and for entry into it. Major Jiri Belohlavek, press spokesman of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, spoke about this in an interview with CTK:

"The border zone statute, which proceeds from law no. 69/1951 on the protection of state borders and which is published in the Set of Directives for National Committees no. 16/1964, restricted entry into this area along the state borders with the FRG and Austria.

"In harmony with requirements to simplify citizens' contacts with state organs, the Federal Ministry of the Interior has adopted two kinds of measures: To reduce the border zone to the minimum extent necessary to reliably guarantee the protection of the state borders and also to simplify the paperwork associated with applications for and the issuing of permits to enter the border zone.

"After the measures associated with reducing the border zone have been carried out, approximately 14,500 hectares of forest and agricultural land will be removed from this zone which will expand the possibilities for individual organizations to fulfill economic tasks and will also reduce the number of permits issued for entry into this area. Apart from forest and agricultural land, other areas will be taken out of the border zone for economic reasons, for example, quarries, gravel pits, and sections of railroad tracks, and also, for example, space for the construction of docks in the Lanzhot-Kuty sector as well as some tourist and recreation areas."

In answer to a question associated with the specific changes in dealing with applications and the issuing of permits to enter the border zone, J. Belohlavek said that in order to reduce the paperwork associated with applications for and the issuing of permits to enter the border zone (they are issued by district administrations of the National Security Corps) an endorsement will not be required from an ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] plant committee. Only in applications for entry into the border zone for the purpose of gamekeeping or fishing will it be necessary while applying for a permit to state the point of view of the gamekeepers' or fishermens' association's primary organization of which the applicant is a member or, if applicable, of another organ which issued the permit to carry out gamekeeper's or fisherman's rights.

At the same time, changes have taken place in issuing permits to employees of the Customs Administration for entry into the border zone.

Citizens who work for a long period in the border zone and those who have their permanent place of residence in the area adjoining the border zone and who apply to enter the border zone for private purposes, will have an entry permit, without a time restriction, stamped in their citizen's pass. Those auxiliary Border Guards and members of the Public Security Border Guard who enter into the border zone will have their permits stamped in their organization's membership passes.

An oral application to extend the permit's validity can be made at those organs which issued the permit.

In order to ease the work of the local economic organizations which inform Border Guard units of their employees' entry into the border zone, a change will take place in the time limit from 1200 on the previous day to 1900 on the given day.

Bush Tour, U.S. Policy on East Europe Viewed

AU2807141389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Jul 89 p 6

[Bedrich Zagar commentary: "The Concept of Contradictory Trends; George Bush's 'East European' Policy Lacks Principles"]

[Text] The visit which American President George Bush made to Poland and Hungary was intended to demonstrate U.S. policy toward socialist countries. Its course and results, however, caused embarrassment both in the East and in the West. Why did G. Bush choose Hungary and Poland in particular?

In April the U.S. President made a speech to Americans of Polish origin in which he outlined his administration's political line toward Poland after the signing of the agreement between the Government of the Polish People's Republic and Solidarity. At that time, an analysis of the White House's foreign policy strategy had not yet been drawn up but its approaches toward the European socialist countries were already being hinted at in the President's speech. The President's words and arguments stayed the same as before but definite changes were concealed behind the traditional cliches.

The U.S. Administration has remained faithful to the so-called differentiated approach which has been prevalent in U.S. East European policy since the 1960's. It maintained the division of socialist countries into "good" ones and "bad" ones. In the past it regarded as its criterion the level of disagreements (naturally, according to an assessment made by American specialists) between the socialist states' leadership and Moscow. Now, according to Bush, the decisive criterion for the development of U.S. cooperation with this or that East European country is "the level of the introduction of reforms." In the American concept this means substantial political and economic liberalization. All kinds of snares, of course, are concealed behind this condition. In Poland and in Hungary they have already found out that there is no American altruism but firm conditions: Help yourselves, guys, and then the United States will help you. The United States does not negotiate without conditions, even George Bush finally acknowledged this.

The term "de-ideologization" has appeared relatively recently. Its correct meaning should be that in the sphere of international relations, that is in foreign policy, political propaganda will not be applied. The Soviet Union and other socialist states are trying to introduce into international relations, bilateral, or multilateral relations, matter-of-fact issues of general interest and problems whose solution will benefit everyone. Perhaps only socialist states need the elimination of the "cold war" or perhaps the sword of Damocles of nuclear weapons and the threat of war only hangs over the heads of East European countries? Serious ecological problems also affect the West the same as the East, to say nothing about healthy economic cooperation and the development of equal and mutually beneficial trade. Mixing ideological propaganda with issues of global interest would not be very purposeful.

If in the past the West demanded that ideology should not be introduced into international relations, today it is itself applying it in this sphere. No sooner have difficulties appeared in the restructuring of political and economic life in the socialist countries, which is after all natural, than Western propaganda begins to prophesy "the failure and extinction of communism" and, at the same time, puts forward as an example its own economic system which is also beset by many grave problems and difficulties. On the whole, capitalism definitely does not provide an answer for the solution of burning economic and social problems. This opinion is not only held in socialist countries but can also be found among many realistic economists in the West.

The multifaceted nature of the world renders untenable attempts to view surrounding countries from above and to teach them one's own democracy because democratic ideals often lose their value very quickly in their "exported version." If we are to respect the free will of every country—and today there is no other way—then each politician must rid himself of the idea that some people have a privileged position in the world and that others happen to be in their position absolutely by chance. Competition between ideologies should not be transferred into mutual relations between states. Otherwise it will be impossible to solve even one of the world's problems.

Before his visit to Poland, U.S. President George Bush made a speech with which it is possible to agree: "Our task is clear, we should support the implementation of the desire to create a new Europe, the major characteristic of which would be security, prosperity, peace, and freedom!" G. Bush said something completely different during his recent visit to the FRG: "I will do everything within my capacity as President to ensure that we 'open up' the nations of East Europe. Uniting the freedom movements in East Europe is a huge task for Western democracies. First and foremost, the large political parties in the West must take a historical responsibility upon themselves in this task." Which "freedom movements" did the U.S. President have in mind? Could it be that he wanted to express himself in a way which the American public is used to, supporting political reforms aimed at democratization in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries? No. The informed American press rushed in to explain that this also involves fundamental changes to the social and state system of the socialist countries so that they stop being socialist.

In his speeches in Poland and Hungary President Bush did not provide such a "clarification", he limited himself to emphasizing the United States' efforts for constructive cooperation with those East European states which are carrying out reforms. He did not define their contents and character. However, emphasis on support for the private sector in socialist countries was not lacking. However, diametrically contradictory trends, which were made public by unnamed members of the President's entourage, statements which the Western press made full use of, also appeared. The stance toward the socialist states openly proceeds from these, a stance which is founded on ideological attitudes. If G. Bush's journey to the countries behind the "Iron Curtain" is considered as a triumph from this point of view then it is possible to understand why, according to the American press, the visit was also a victory in the "cold war." The magazine U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT added that the socialist countries which are counting on help from the West will have to implement further "political and economic changes so that they become more dependent on us."

At the summit meeting in Paris of the most advanced capitalist states, George Bush, according to his press secretary, called upon the participating states to urge "the communist states toward developing a Western type of economy." Is this meant to be the signal to intensify the ideologization of international policy? In any case, this marks a contradictory trend which opposes the concept of peaceful coexistence between East and West which the U.S. President himself not only advocates but whose intensification he also supports.

Airing of PZPR, MSZMP 'Mistakes' Urged

AU0208121489

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 26 July on page 6, under the headline "Only Socialism Eliminates Exploitation," carries a 1,200-word unattributed report on an interview given by Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP], to the PCP organ AVANTE (date not given), after his return from a recent tour of four East European countries. The RUDE PRAVO report focuses on Cunhal's replies to AVANTE's questions about current developments in Hungary and Poland. On 31 July, in the "A Word on the Day" day column on page 1, RUDE PRAVO carries a 250-word letter by reader Rostislav Strecha, PhD, from Prague, in which the author welcomes the publication of Cunhal's interview and praises its outspokenness about the "antisocialist phenomena" in Hungary and Poland.

The RUDE PRAVO report on Cunhal's interview quotes the PCP leader as having said, for example, that "in our opinion, the economic reforms in the Hungarian People's Republic do not contribute to strengthening socialism"; that Radio Free Europe's permitted operation in Budapest provides "antisocialist forces with an instrument for their political activity and campaigns"; and that "imperialism" is taking advantage of the difficult economic situation in Poland and Hungary and employs "political blackmail to enforce the privatization of the socialist economy, which is not a way to develop socialism."

Asked whether the social processes taking place in Poland and Hungary represent "positive political reforms which are necessary to build a new society," Cunhal reportedly replied that "it is not clear whether they will lead to the strengthening, progress, and victories of socialism or to its weakening, retreat, and defeats. However, the present situation represents not strengthening but, rather, weakening and it also gives rise to concern as regards the short-term and medium-term prospects."

The RUDE PRAVO report also quotes Cunhal's assessment of recent changes in the Hungarian party leadership. Cunhal is quoted as having said: "It is absurd, in my opinion, if renewal and, specifically, the renewal of leadership, takes place under the pressure of the demands or even instructions on the part of the enemies of the party; if it takes place because opposition parties and groups attack the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] leadership and declare that only this or that sort of renewal and the replacement of this or that comrade can give the party credibility with regard to the guidance of the democratization process." Speaking about the recent changes in the MSZMP leadership, Cunhal reportedly "added that there exist in it tendencies aimed at transforming the MSZMP into a party that would be considerably removed from communist goals and that would adopt a platform and methods which are rather closer to those of social democrats."

The PCP general secretary is also said to have pointed out that in the new 4-member MSZMP leadership "there exist several tendencies...with different ideas about the future of Hungary and the party," with some officials "claiming that communist parties do not lend themselves to reform, that the reform of communism in the USSR and in Eastern Europe is not possible, and that it is better to create a new party of a social democratic type." According to Cunhal, "it is not yet clear which tendency will get its way." The RUDE PRAVO report also notes that, in his interview, Cunhal "rejected the view that the events in Hungary in 1956 and in the CSSR in 1968 represented some sort of 'forerunners of perestroyka' and stressed that the processes in both countries were counterrevolutionary processes, directed against the socialist system and its gains."

In his letter published on 31 July, Rostislav Strelba expresses his gratitude to RUDE PRAVO for the publication of Cunhal's interview and praises Cunhal for having expressed "in plain, convincing, and clear terms what is felt today by every genuine Marxist-Leninist and true Communist when assessing the events and processes taking place in Poland and in the Polish United Workers Party and in Hungary and in the MSZMP." Strelba

continues: "Alvaro Cunhal's telling ideas and conclusions are a textbook example of calling matters and phenomena by their proper name and of separating, from a class and party point of view, the wheat from the chaff. The party press in the socialist states should publish more such materials, more of such fundamental, principled standpoints. Or are we perhaps short on experience from the times when one knew about similar problems, but kept our mouths shut about them? Do we, as internationalists, have the right not to see the glaring antisocialist, anticommunist, and antirevolutionary phenomena in the countries of our immediate neighbors and friends? Or does it no longer hold true that one alerts one's friend to his mistakes in a comradely manner, precisely because he is a friend?"

Commentary on Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact
LD0108131189 Prague in Czech to Europe
2230 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Jaroslav Sturma commentary]

[Excerpts] The Soviet-German nonaggression Pact of September 1939, and this has been confirmed also by Radio Prague listeners' letters, today ranks among the most debated of events that preceded World War II. The following commentary, written by Jaroslav Sturma, deals with the circumstances that led to the signing of the treaty: [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union signed the treaty because it was in a situation in which it was deprived of the possibility to ally itself with anyone. The Soviet Union was faced with the necessity of drawing practical conclusions from the escalating threat of war from the aggressor and from the obstructive maneuvers of the Western powers, from their duplicitious policy and the endeavor to channel German expansion against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was dutybound to think about its survival and to ensure that the situation in which all aggressors had simultaneously attacked the Republic of the Soviets would not be repeated in any form.

The nonaggression pact with Germany thwarted plans to unleash the war between Germany and the Soviet Union as early as 1939, within which framework Great Britain, France, and the United States longed to maintain for themselves the role of the third party who sits back and laughs. They merely wanted to wait until it would be opportune to intervene and to dictate their conditions for a truce to the conflict participants. The Soviet Union upset the plans of the imperialist plot and won time, which it urgently needed to prepare itself to repulse aggression.

Naturally, the 1939 nonaggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union did not bring benefit alone. It brought, to say the least, bewilderment into the atmosphere of the popular, anti-fascist front in bourgeois democracies and the international communist movement. Today, especially when history is being reassessed and the blank spots are being filled in, the past Soviet leadership steps appear perhaps differently. The fact nonetheless remains that in 1939 the Soviet Union had to play, so to speak, with black [chess] pieces because it had no other option but to figure out when the war would break out, what battlefield would be the main one for fascist Germany and Japan, and what attitude individual countries would take when the shooting started.

By securing its vital interests, and to safeguard these interests, it concluded the nonaggression pact with Germany. The Soviet Union did not burn bridges to cooperate with the Western powers, who wanted to avoid war to the detriment of the Soviet Union and who, in the end, only fooled themselves. Consequent developments proved that in the end.

Moscow Film Festival Organizers Criticized
AU0108101289

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 July on page 5 and on 28 July on page 5 publishes in two installments a 3,500-word article by Juraj Halas entitled "Notes From the 16th International Film Festival in Moscow," which assesses this year's Moscow film festival. In his article, Halas detects, among other things, a discrepancy between the organizers' proclaimed intention to "depoliticize and deideologize criteria for the selection of films" to be shown at the festival and the actual selection of films, "in which, in my opinion, marked preference was given to political, philosophical-political, and sociopolitical topics, in many cases at the expense of artistic qualities." Halas cites as a "clear example of 'politics' taking precedence over 'art'" West German film director Maria Knilli's film "Follow Me." Halas views this film, which "tells the story of a Czechoslovak emigre, a former professor of philosophy who ends up as an unskilled laborer at Orly airport in Paris," as an "unsuccessful attempt at a festival scandal." Halas cites various negative reviews of Knilli's film which have appeared in the Soviet press and suggests that this film did nothing to raise the "authority" of the Moscow film festival. He asks whether it was "impossible to find something more digestible" from West German film production and adds that "if not, it would have been better to dispense with this country's participation in the competition," all the more so as the Moscow festival now presents itself as a festival of films, rather than one of countries.

Halas also takes exception to the "virtually total politicization of festival life" at this year's Moscow festival. He dwells, in particular, on the activity of the "professional club of cinematographers," which was addressed by people such as Soviet deputies Yeltsin, Gdlyan, and Sobchak, Polish opposition politician Michnik, and Russian emigre writer Sokolov and which thereby turned into a "semi-official political club or, rather, into a film makers' Hyde Park."

Article Favors Granting Gypsies Minority Rights

AU0103094089

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 28 July on page 3, under the headline "Romanies Among Us, Or With Us?," carries a 4,000-word transcript of a roundtable discussion on the problems of Czechoslovakia's Gypsy population. The panelists include experts on the Gypsy issue as well as representatives of Romanies themselves. The transcript of the discussion, the place and date of which are not given, was "processed" by Zdena Stepankova and Jiri Bares.

In the opening statement, Milena Huebschmannova, a teacher of Romany, criticizes the use of the word "Gypsy" (cikan) in referring to Romanies, pointing out that, according to the Czech dictionary, "cikan" has the hidden meaning of "lier" or "swindler" and is therefore rightly perceived as an offense by Romanies.

One of the panelists, Petr Visek, a student of Romany, then quantifies the scale of the Gypsy problem in Czechoslovakia. He says that, according to national committees' statistics, the CSSR's Romany population totalled 391,000 at the end of 1988. He adds, however, that the official statistics are inadequate because they do not treat Romanies as an ethnic group but as a "social problem group" and therefore include "only those Romany citizens who need society's help." Visek estimates that the actual number of Romanies may be 10 to 20 percent higher than the official figure. Speaking about long-term demographic trends, Visek points out that Czechoslovakia's Gypsy population has increased almost tenfold since 1920 and fourfold since 1945 and that it is expected to reach 550,000 to 600,000 by the year 2000 and 1 million by the year 2020.

In the subsequent parts of the discussion, the panelists discuss the situation of Romanies in Czechoslovak society. While all panelists acknowledge that much has been done to improve their social and economic situation, some panelists deplore the continued existence of anti-Gypsy prejudices in public opinion and criticize past policies against Romanies and the Romanies' lack of representation in public life. Emil Scuka, for example, observes that "not one Romany is a member of the highest legislative bodies" and that, because of this absence of representatives, Romanies "have nowhere to turn to" when they come across instances of racism or discrimination. He suggests that "Romany deputies" be introduced in Romany communities, who would perform the traditional role of "vajdas" (village chiefs), "persons commanding natural authority who managed to stand up for Romanies' rights but who could also punish them, if necessary." Scuka also stresses the "need to concede to Romanies in the Constitution, in addition to general rights and duties, also the right to an identity and to grant them the status of an ethnic minority or an ethnic group."

This demand is endorsed by Milena Huebschmannova, who says: "Under the law, everyone enjoys the same rights, but life is different. At school, Czech and Slovak children study their culture and history while Romany children learn nothing of their history and culture, to say nothing of the right to the mother tongue."

Bohumil Janouch, staffer of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, agrees with Scuka in that recognizing the Romanies' status as an ethnic group in the Constitution represents the "basic point of departure" in approaching the Romany issue, because at present "we do not, in fact, have any Romanies in our country from the legal point of view, at variance with the reality."

Several participants in the discussion criticize the past policy of "social integration through dispersion" among the Czech and Slovak populace. Jan Rusenko from Prague, the director of another Romany arts ensemble, says, for example, that this policy "destroyed Romany traditions," with the result that "today's Romany youth does not know where it belongs." Petr Visek notes that the term "social integration" as it was used was too vague and that it "permitted interpretation and methods which often could call forth feelings of denationalization among Romanies. They took it hard, for example, that during various events they were not allowed to speak Romany." Visek and Huebschmannova even attribute the high crime rate among Romanies to the policy of integration. Visek says that this policy has "disrupted Romany ethics, which are conveyed orally and are not passed on in written form. A young Romany family that finds itself outside the collective of Romanies does not know how to behave." Huebschmannova points out that, as a result of the policy of dispersion, the "strong correctives of social conduct" that used to operate in the traditional Gypsy communities no longer have any effect.

While being critical of past policies, some panelists welcome recent changes in approaching the Gypsy issue. Janouch mentions, for example, that in February the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed the problems of Romanies and adopted conclusions "stressing that it is necessary to stop acting upon Romanies as an object" and to start involving the Romany population in the solution of its problems. Janouch notes that the material discussed by the party presidium was drafted in cooperation with Romany "aktivists" and that it deals with the issue "comprehensively," that is, not only as a social problem, but as a "set of cultural, social, economic, and political problems." Janouch also announces that a new nationwide journal for Romanies (with contributions in Czech, Slovak, and Romany) will start publication next year and that "there is the possibility of setting up local clubs where Romanies could meet." Emil Scuka suggests the formation of a professional Romany theater in the CSSR. He points out that such theaters exist in other socialist countries and that even smaller national minorities in Czechoslovakia

(such as the Ukrainians or Poles) have their professional theater ensembles already. He argues that such an upgrading of Romany culture would help to overcome the absence of "positive models" for Romany youth and to raise Romanies' self-confidence.

Use of Steroids in CSSR Sports Discussed

AU0108113789

[Editorial Report] Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech No 30, the weekend supplement of Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech of 29 July, publishes on pages 8 and 9 a 5,500-word article by Vladimir Slobodzian entitled "Doping in the World and in Czechoslovakia." The article discusses the harmful effects of doping in top-performance sports and welcomes the recently issued new directive on doping, with which the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association [CSTV] adopted the International Olympic Committee's more rigorous anti-doping measures and punishments.

In his article Slobodzian also discusses some recent doping affairs concerning Czechoslovak athletes and their background. He mentions, among other things, the cases of weightlifter Pavlasek, discus throwers Silhanova and Matejkova, shot-putter Machura, gymnast Hylova, and national weightlifting coach Brzoska, "who has been expelled from CSTV ranks for smuggling anabolic steroids." Slobodzian stresses the need for "glasnost" in this area and deplores that "to this day not one of the responsible officials of top-performance sports has admitted the truth" about the use of doping in Czechoslovak sports. The author argues that, in a number of sports, the use of anabolic steroids has been the precondition for success and medals for Czechoslovakia and that this doping took place "with the tacit but knowing consent and assistance of coaches, functionaries, and physicians." Without citing any names, Slobodzian even mentions cases of sportsmen who have been eliminated from "centers of top-performance sports" because of their "reluctance to take pills." He also reveals that internal doping tests used to be carried out before important competitions and that, in the case of positive finds, "the press often informed our public that a certain athlete had sustained an injury or had suddenly fallen ill."

Support Expressed for Soviet Test Ban Appeal
LD0208213189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1638 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR supports the appeal by the USSR Supreme Soviet to the U.S. Congress for a moratorium on nuclear explosions and a complete halt to all nuclear weapons tests as a fresh and timely step.

The deputy spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry, Dr Denis Ruh, told ADN today that the proposals and initiatives contained in the appeal could provide an impetus for approaching the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons.

Jointly with the other Warsaw Pact states, the GDR regards a general and complete ban on nuclear weapons tests—as reiterated in July at the Bucharest meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee—as a paramount task.

A halt to the tests would make a decisive contribution to ending the arms race in the nuclear sphere, would prevent its extension to space, and effectively promote the continuation of the nuclear disarmament process.

Report on Political Convictions Called 'Lie'
LD0108182789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1617 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A statement by the notorious "Registration Office" in Salzgitter (FRG) that there were 674 convictions on political grounds in the GDR in the first 6 months of this year is a lie from start to finish. No one in the GDR is convicted on the basis of his political affiliation. Once again it is seen that the so-called Registry Office in Salzgitter, a relic of the cold war, only exists to serve those who want to burden relations between the FRG and the GDR again and again.

Church Groups Urge SED To Pass Election Law
AU0208102789 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 2 Aug 89 p 4

[Hans-R. Karutz report: "New GDR Election Law by 1991 Demanded"]

[Text] Berlin—Recently 21 leading members of synods and critical groups have addressed all GDR bishops and even the Catholic "Berlin Bishops' Conference" with a vigorous appeal to the SED leadership to finally pass a new election law that prevents election fraud and to accept an "honest, pluralistic result" at the 1991 People's Chamber elections. The message levels the massive accusation that state and party chief Erich Honecker "lied".

Referring to the "large-scale and doubtlessly centrally ordered election fraud" at the local GDR elections of 7 May, the message says: "What extent has been reached by the lies, when the State Council chairman stresses that these forged election results 'again and convincingly ... demonstrated the political-moral unity of our people'?" The authors ask bitterly: "What kind of unity and moral is this?"

The authors—including priests, lecturers, engineers, deacons, and members of the East Berlin Bartholomaeus parish, who are particularly active in civil and human rights questions—do not see any chance of the state really dealing with the proven forgeries of votes in a specific way: "The state only tries to pass on to the agenda of real socialism, as if nothing had happened." The situation that has developed in the country is "intolerable."

The population certainly recognizes the "extremely difficult situation of the GDR leadership and its all-encompassing concern about the stability of the state and social system that have been developed over 40 years in the divided Germany between the economically stronger West and the politically changing East." To the same extent, however, to which the "fear of discrimination and reprisals starts to disappear" among the people, one can see how the "fears of the leadership increase." Even conclusive objections against the election fraud are brushed aside as "dissident grumblings of a tiny minority, which is controlled by the West." Now a "new step in a new direction" is urgently possible.

All Christian churches in the GDR—including the Catholic Church—are implored to "address a public plea to the state that cannot be overheard, that is conciliatory, and offers trust, to open up the comprehensive dialogue with all responsible forces, which is also hoped for by many Marxists, about a democratic restructuring of our state and our society toward a new mission." In this connection, the signatories call for "authorized rounds of talks" about the basic conditions of a "new start" without "putting at stake" social justice that has already been achieved.

Otherwise, the authors predict, there will be increasing "confrontation and polarization" within society. "A way must be found by which the party can give up its fiction about 'moral-political unity' without losing face so that it may accept an honest, pluralistic result in line with a reformed election law at the People's Chamber elections in 2 years." The authors draw the following clear conclusion: "We cannot accept another 'election' that follows the old pattern."

State Security Chief Pallagi Interviewed

LD0308002189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2020 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Seven decades after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, we are now seeking an answer to the following question: Is there any similarity and what are the differences between the secret services of the two countries? It is obvious that in our country as well, the security needs of the previous, post-Stalinist era have become outdated; after all, a constitutional state demands that the functioning of the state security service should be on the basis of a legal framework. Even in the transitional period, the K. und K. [the dual monarchy] spirit of the past decades must be modified. [passage omitted]

Ferenc Pallagi, you are the head of the Hungarian State Security Service. I believe not very much has been written about this organization, even though nowadays some articles are published about it. This is the first time that you have given a television interview. You have been the head of the Hungarian State Security Service for just a few months. In your opinion, is this organization a state within the state?

[Pallagi] This is a very difficult question but I will try to give a simple answer. In no way can it be regarded as a state within the state. After all, its purpose and function are within the sphere of state administration, it is inside this sphere and is under government direction. Accordingly, its functioning and activities serve the interests of the state—sociopolitical interests—and thus it cannot be a state within the state from this point of view either, because its order of functioning, scope of tasks, and purpose must be subordinated to the interests of the state.

[Presenter] Nonetheless, in practice public opinion holds that the State Security Service wants to know about everything, that telephones are tapped, that letters are read. For example, if I, a journalist, have my phone tapped, where can I go to complain about this?

[Pallagi] The State Security Service is a sphere of state administration, of the activities of the state, which on the basis of set requirements and functions is obliged to collect information to safeguard the constitutional, legal state interests, and within this, very emphatically, the interests and security of the citizens.

[Presenter] Who can order a secret action? For example, who can give orders for us to be tapped here?

[Pallagi] Well, to put this in a somewhat simplified way, if persons were to hold a conversation here who could be suspected of transgressing the interests of the Hungarian People's republic—which is hardly the case at the moment—since they also converse under conditions of secrecy, let us say in the open air, then it is necessary to deploy secret methods: after all, the antagonist also functions within a framework of secrecy.

Now, with regard to the question of the permission for this, well, if there is a well-founded suspicion that an activity of that sort is taking place, then the 1974 act, which is a published law, and related secret legal regulations, which are secret as yet and deal with the order of functioning and the entitlements, provide the basic framework for determining whether it is possible to employ secret methods of gaining information, and in relation to whom it is possible to employ them. In concrete terms, regarding the practical realization, Internal Ministry regulations, which also have the character of legal decrees, regulate this in a very strict way.

[Presenter] But there can be no control in this case. You have said that the issue was the transgression of the interests of the state. Who determines what is the interest of the Hungarian state at the present time? After all, a year or a year and a half ago many people were members of secret organizations, whereas today they are well-known politicians, party leaders, or leaders of opposition movements. So these things change from time to time. Who declares who is to be kept under observation?

[Pallagi] Today, when we are going through these changes, it is perfectly obvious that the suspicion of conduct which threatens state interests must be investigated in a multifaceted manner, and proof must be given from various aspects that state interests have been violated. This is a very broad category. It can relate to constitutional order or economic interests; in the case of terrorist actions it can relate to the harassment of citizens through terrorism or any other act aimed at the overthrow of the social order. In this respect, if we receive information or a system of signals of this type, the State Security Service must, on the basis of well-founded suspicion, launch its investigative and preventive activities. Otherwise, if some illegal activity occurs, then it is said that the police and the State Security Service are not fulfilling their tasks.

[Presenter] If the rights of the private individual are violated, to whom can we turn for redress? Who would protect me, for example? Is it the prosecuting organs, or your supervisory organ, or perhaps a committee of the National Assembly?

[Pallagi] First of all there is the important aspect that, if we take you as an example, if you were to sense or experience that you were being investigated, you would first of all have to prove that this was really so.

[Presenter] Do you mean that I would have to go to an office for dealing with complaints?

[Pallagi] No, not to an office like that. Even at present there are possibilities for redress through the prosecuting organs. If a Hungarian citizen suspects or experiences

some action limiting his rights as a citizen, he can turn to the courts, to the prosecuting organs, or even to the minister of internal affairs. He can even come to me, the head of the State Security Service. On the basis of the legal and political responsibility invested in me, it is my fundamental duty to investigate reports of this sort and to determine whether the well-founded suspicion of such conduct exists or whether some sort of arbitary actions have been taken.

[Presenter] So in a given case you would uphold a private individual against your own organization?

[Pallagi] Inasmuch as it is shown that illegal actions have been taken and if there is no suspicion of the security of the state, the interests of the state, having been violated, then this must certainly be done.

There is also another system of guarantees existing at the present time which we would like to develop much further. In this whole process of developing into a constitutional state, we regard it as an indispensible need to develop systems of guarantees which on the one hand will provide control and license by the National Assembly, that is, the highest organ of state power, to the State Security Service, and then this committee of the National Assembly can check on the basis of the observation of the existing laws that the service is carrying out its activities on the basis of the law.

[Presenter] When there are several parties present in the National Assembly, control is exercised through the multiparty system. It might well be said that at the prosecuting organs, which you have mentioned, the staff members are members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], the members of the State Security Service are also MSZMP members, as is your minister. At present you may be accused of protecting the interests of the single party in practice. Is it necessary for the party to play a directing role in the work of the state security organs?

[Pallagi] By now we have gone beyond this, we have gone significantly beyond this. Of course, it must be said that the initiative came from the MSZMP on this. It brought a decision last November abolishing direct party direction and control over the Ministries of Interior, Defense, and Foreign Affairs. As a consequence, we cannot receive tasks of a state security nature from the party as a political requirement. It can only come from the government.

[Presenter] But your staff members have not yet transfered to the residential party base organization.

[Pallagi] That again is a complex matter because now, and especially in the future, a person's party standing, or his belonging to some party, cannot be the determining factor within the service. A state security service, a secret service must always function with professionalism and expertise so that it does not operate only according to party interests but so that it is able to sustain, very rigorously, the assertion of state laws, state regulations, and state guarantees.

Like you said, a possible parliament consisting of a multiparty system will elect a committee to control the operation and function of the state security service. Here, to be sure, it would immediately be possible to detect any kind of special connections to party character or party affiliation. At that moment, the members of the service, and especially the leader, would bear political responsibilities, and in my view I could not speak with you for very long if there were such a situation.

[Presenter] Who works in the state security organ? This is still a somewhat mystical matter. Is it James Bond, supercops, or rather, inveterate peeping Toms or maniac telephone tappers? Where would you place your colleagues, if it were possible to describe them with a few adjectives? (?How does one come to work) for the State Security Service?

[Pallagi] How should I put it? It is difficult to reply concisely to this question. With all their difficulties, and especially regarding their difficulties in finding bearings in the complex social process currently appearing, the staff of the State Security Service are in a quite difficult situation. There is no question about this, if I speak about the recent past. I am not talking about the distant past. In the distant past, political commitment was unequivocally the most decisive criterion in qualifying them for the State Security Service, and put in straightforward terms, we also worded it as our having been the party's soldiers.

Now that we have reached this point in the process of democratization in our country, this developmental process has ceased. There is no equivalence between a vocation as State Security Service officer and party membership. At present, a very great portion, a significant portion of the State Security Service, are not members of the MSZMP. Accordingly, as a consequence of the current generation change, just like in other areas of society, on the one hand those who have ended up in the State Security Service have been young people with a somewhat romantic attraction.

[Presenter] Spy romance?

[Pallagi] Spy romance, and information-gathering, intelligence- gathering romance. There is such a significant influence, and there is also a kind of attitude in which they feel a commitment to such a social interest, to a social requirement or accomplishing a state task.

Our staff at the State Security Service and our current staff fortunately have developed and are operating with a very serious commitment, and as a significant result of social development, with a good general education, ever-improving expertise. This is a considerable asset to the

service. With us, diplomacy, knowledge of foreign languages, culture—I do not want to say the word—the level of intelligence, are all very important requirements.

Nyers Visits Kecskemet, Meets With Leaders

LD0308015989 Budapest MTI in English 2035 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 2 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, arrived in Kecskemet on Wednesday. His visit is an important event for parliamentary by-elections in Bacs-Kiskun county, where mandates are not filled in the towns of Kecskemet and Kiskunfelegyhaza. As the by-elections of July 22 were unsuccessful, they are to be repeated on August 5th. One of the three candidates running for the mandate in each of the two constituencies represents the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]. Mr Nyers met and talked to both of the candidates after he had held an exchange of views with county and town leaders on timely political and social questions at the county party headquarters.

The HSWP president then visited a cooperative in Kecskemet, and talked to its leaders and employees.

Later, Mr Nyers participated in and contributed to the election rally held in Kecskemet town hall.

HSWP President Rezso Nyers said in an address delivered at the election rally in Kecskemet town council hall that although the current by-elections will not determine the future of the country, they cannot be ignored, as they are the beginnings of a multi-party election system. In this renewal process, the HSWP, which appears as a party representing a new policy, has learnt from its mistakes and wishes to continue to learn. At the same time, Mr Nyers rejected the unjust and superficial opinions which claim that the past 40 years have been a complete failure.

Mr Nyers points out that now when a radical economic reform is necessary, the answer to the question whether the socialist sector can be renewed should be positive. The economic future of the country cannot be imagined without cooperative and state ownership, but it should not function as it did and within the old organizational framework. The future of the country cannot be seen without individual initiative and efforts, and the gaining ground of the private economy.

He said that the two signs of development would be a system of several sectors and intensive relations with every part of the world. Hungary should be a political, economic, cultural and technological bridge between eastern and western Europe.

Grosz Meets CSSR Ambassador Ehrenberger

LD0208084489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], received today in Budapest, Czechoslovak Ambassador Vlastimil Ehrenberger. They discussed topical questions of Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations and briefed each other about the developments in the two countries and preparations of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and HSWP congresses.

Grosz Visits Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society

LD0208221989 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 2 (MTI)—HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] General Secretary Karoly Grosz visited the Hungarian-Soviet friendship society (MSZBT) on Wednesday, and held a talk with the members of the managing board. He said the HSWP considered the nurturing of Hungarian-Soviet friendship very important, and they wish to have close relations with the society and continue to give all moral and political support to its activity in future. Mr Grosz welcomed the proposition to attract other political parties and social organizations to advance the cause of Hungarian-Soviet friendship. 'In order to bring about an up-to-date MSZBT, it seems rational to expand the social support of the movement and reinforce its professional profile,' he said.

Mr Grosz gave a briefing on the Hungarian-Soviet top level meeting of July 24 and 25. He pointed out that the visit had also contributed to the Soviet Union's better understanding of the situation and reform processes in Hungary. The talks indicated that both the HSWP and the CPSU regard it a historical necessity to renew socialism. They are on common terms with regard to all fundamental questions. The Soviet leadership understands Hungary's efforts to conduct an open foreign policy and to expand its relations with the West, as well as create more efficient cooperation with the socialist countries.

The HSWP general secretary said that besides other questions, a preliminary agreement had also been made on tributes to be paid to Hungarian soldiers killed in the Soviet Union during the 2nd World War. Mr Grosz stated that with a high degree of consideration for others and mutual caution, and without the reassessment of history, advances could be made in the field. Mikhail Gorbachev stated the Soviet Union was prepared to find the exact location of the burial grounds of Hungarian prisoners of war and assist in their restoration. We are not opposed to the erection of a symbolic grave or memorial where the relatives could pay tribute, he said.

Damage Due to Low-Flying Soviet Planes Assessed
LD0108132189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] In Debrecen, the extent of the damage caused by low-flying Soviet military aircraft has been calculated. Istvan Palfi reports:

[Palfi] When a start was made on calculating the damage caused by Soviet military flights some 200 claims were expected, but in months the number has exceeded 650. Experts assessed compensation ranging from a few thousand forints to several tens of thousands. Hungaria Insurance which, by the way, carried out the assessments free, will hand the files to the Debrecen branch of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and to representatives of the residents. These will then pass the files to the Soviet-Hungarian mixed committee which is examining the issue. The insurance does not pay compensation because it is not a matter of so-called risk events. Many Debrecen residents complained about nervous and hearing problems and damage, which is true mainly in the case of children living near the Soviet airport. The insurance company did not undertake the assessment of these, but the MDF has already initiated expert medical examination of those affected.

Hungary Seeks Trade Agreements With EC, EFTA
LD0208145189 Budapest MTI in English 0905 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Brussels, August 2, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—In a list of requests submitted by the Hungarian Government to the August 1st meeting in Brussels of experts from 24 Western countries, Hungary is seeking free trade agreements with both the EC and the EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. The agreements, which would include agriculture produce, could eventually lead to the creation of a free-trade zone.

The meeting, organized by the EC commisson, follows the 'adoption' of Hungary and Poland by the industrialised West at the July 15 G-7 summit.

Participants at the Brussels meeting, convened to prepare coordination of Western assistance to Hungary and Poland, were 'impressed by the prudent seriousness' of the 'remarkable' Hungarian memorandum, which also contains details of the country's three-year programme of economic reorganization towards a free market system, EC spokesmen said after the meeting. Hungary is also ready to help in the Polish food-aid programme, with Hungarian shipments paid for from EC funds, the memorandum said.

Other Hungarian requests include an end to Hungary's status with the EC as a state-trading country, an acceleration in implementing its September 1988 agreement with the EC on trade and economic cooperation, and the phasing out of quantitative restrictions to be completed by January 1, 1990, instead of December 31, 1995, the date specified in the 1988 agreement.

Hungary is also seeking similar GSP [Generalized System of Preferences] status with the EC and EFTA to the one it already has with Austria, and wishes also to conclude an agricultural agreement whereby the EC would reduce levies on some selected Hungarian products, and lift barriers to Hungarian imports currently in force on grounds of health, veterinary, and plant protection.

The Hungarian Government memorandum also calls for an agreement with the European Coal and Steel Community so that market access for products covered by self-restraint agreements (textiles and steel) be enlarged, and for bilateral negotiations to begin with the EC on tariffs, on the basis of the MFN-treatment [Most-Favored Nation]. Hungary also wants a larger quota for its workers engaged on projects contracted by Hungarian companies in Western European countries.

The Hungarian Government would certainly welcome the granting by the US of permanent MFN-status. The US congress is already considering granting GSP to Hungary and the government would like Australia and Canada to follow suit. Japan and New Zealand are the only other overseas countries to grant GSP to Hungarian products. Quantitative restrictions on Hungarian exports to the US should also be phased out.

In order to encourage foreign investment in Hungary, the Hungarian Government would welcome OPIC-guarantees [Overseas Private Investment Corporation] from the US, and similar guarantees from agencies in other OECD-countries [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development], as well as the setting up of investment funds under the sponsorship of the G-24.

The Hungarian document also suggests that the European Investment Bank should extend its operations to Hungary.

Positive steps from the Cocom-countries could come in two ways: the easing of laws and regulations, and the favorable handling of individual applications on a case-by-case basis. The Hungarian Government is prepared to give end-user guarantees and to accept mutually agreed verification procedures.

According to the Hungarian Government memorandum, the country's external hard currency finance requirements over the period 1990-1992 will be between 2.7 and 3 billion USD. Through effective cooperation this can be provided without a general debt service ratio relief and negotiations are to be held with the IMF and the World Bank this year on support to the country's restructuring programme for that period.

Other measures required include a bigger share of Western markets for Hungarian bond-issues and the opening up of new markets primarily in the US, as well as a broadening by Western governments of credit arrangements for Hungarian commercial banks.

Hungary is not seeking debt relief under the Brady plan, but would welcome the expansion of financial resources supplementing the plan.

Western central banks, in cooperation with the BIS [Bank for International Settlement], could also provide help by offerng short-term contingency financing facilities, should living standards decline and social tensions arise as a consequence of the restructuring programme.

Commenting on the Hungarian requests, EC officials said on Tuesday that although they were generally viewed with sympathy at the G-24 meeting, a decision on any of the points was unlikely since this was but a preliminary gathering to coordinate Western help. Such help would certainly include encouragement of the reforms through development of the private sector and better access for Hungarian and Polish products to Western markets. These latter measures are also expected to cover Hungarian agricultural products.

EC officials stressed that while the EC was not bound in any way by measures taken by others, once the relevant negotiations between Hungary and the EC are concluded, Hungary will probably be given tariff and levy reductions on some specified agricultural export products. They hinted that at this stage the EC does not envisage an acceleration in the elimination of quantitative restrictions on Hungary's industrial exports.

The G-24 countries expressed willingness to encourage investments in Hungary and Poland by extending guarantees, but, the officials added, the easing of Cocom-rules was not on the agenda.

No Official Reactions to Report on Romanian Fears

AU0108110789 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 1 Aug 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Bucharest Ignores Hungary's Concern About Attack"]

[Text] Vienna/Budapest—While yesterday, the edition of DER STANDARD edition with the report on Hungary's fear that Romania would attack it militarily was sold out within a few hours, all official bodies kept silent. A comparison of military forces shows a dangerous superiority on Romania's part, it had been said in Budapest, which constitutes a danger in view of state leader Nicolae Ceausescu's unpredictablity. A spokesman of the Hungarian Government's press office said when asked: "All that I know I read in DER STANDARD and in the Hungarian weekly HVG [HETI VILAGGAZDASAG]. However, I do not have any orders to deny anything written there."

When questioned, the Romanian press attache in Vienna, Manea, announced that he will schedule a press conference for 16 August. Questioned further, he added that he might be able to say more today, Tuesday.

News Conference Held on Coordinating Talks

LD0308021189 Budapest MTI in English 2017 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 2 (MTI)—A press conference for the Hungarian and foreign press in Budapest was held Wednesday on the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] positions on the three most important political topics of the working committees of the political coordinating talks: the electoral law, the election and the constitution. Gyorgy Fejti, member of the HSWP Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, pointed out the fact that in accord with a preliminary agreement between the three negotiating sides, the talks were to be held behind closed doors, with the exception of the plenary sessions. He said it was not true that the HSWP had initiated the practice.

Then he said they had reached an agreement on 90 percent of the text of the party law. HSWP representatives think, despite significant differences in views, there is a greater chance for agreement.

He then said the HSWP believed the possessions of the party were neither politically nor legally a subject of negotiations between the three sides. At the same time, in view of the difficult financial situation of the country, the HSWP decided to abandon the administrative rights of some of its real estate for the public interest.

The HSWP agrees with the opposition roundtable and the third side that every party is entitled to some basic conditions within a limited period of time if its activity is in accordance with the law. Both parliament and government should take part in this process.

A controversial issue has been the functioning of the parties in the working place. Mr Fejti says the HSWP is for complete equality of rights and is not willing to accept any legal discrimination. The HSWP is prepared to change the building on a job related basis. It wishes to make a radical change in the scope of activity of these party organizations, but will not allow any administrative prohibitions. At some public institutions, it is willing to consider the elimination of these structures within a set period.

There has also been debate on how to regulate the financing of parties. The HSWP would like to see a detailed regulation of the matter in public, and maintains a party can retain its sovereignty only if it does not use any foreign financial sources for its operation. It would be particularly unacceptable to use such support at the time of elections.

On the question of elections, Andras Toth, a department head for the Central Committee, says the HSWP's position is that the majority of MPs [members of parliament] should be elected in some 300 individual constituencies, and 50 mandates should be distributed among national parties to curb disproportionateness.

Deputy Minister of Justice, Geza Kilenyi said in connection with the preparation of the constitution that "it is clear today that the new constitution will be approved not by the present parliament, but by a new one to be convened following the democratic elections."

He also referred to the arguments of the HSWP's negotiating parties that the post of president and the establishment of a constitutional court is no other than an attempt by the HSWP to preserve some of its power. He pointed out that under the draft law, the president would be elected not by parliament, but directly by the voting citizens. This would be the highest degree of democratism and the legitimacy of a president elected this way could not be questioned. The HSWP claims that in the current internal political situation a respected president of the Republic could be a factor of stability, and the establishment and fulfilment of this function as soon as possible would avoid anarchy. The party has reached a similar position in the question of the constitutional court. It is a resolute intention of the government to put forward both drafts to parliament even witout a consensus if they cannot reach an agreement, since that would be a lesser danger than static warfare pursued out of tactical considerations.

MSZMP's Jeno Kovacs Interviewed on Trends

AU0108170789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Jul 89 p 7

[Report on interview with Jeno Kovacs, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by Stanislav Drumeshki, special RABOTNICHESKO DELO Budapest correspondent: "The Trends in Hungary"—in Budapest, date not given]

[Text] This meeting was intended as a classical interview with questions and answers. It took place in the office of Pal Eotvos, chief editor of NEPSZABADSAG, the party organ. However, an unforseen situation occurred, as a result of the interpreter being delayed because of the funeral of Janos Kadar, the distinguished figure of the international communist and workers movement, and this made it necessary to conduct our conversation in Russian.

As a matter of fact, it was Comrade Jeno Kovacs who started asking questions. He was greatly interested in the current political and economic processes in our country and, within the limit of my knowledge, I answered his questions. I assured him, at the same time, that our readers are living with the problems of Hungary and are greatly interested in the trends of development, in the successes and difficulties related to the transformations underway in his country.

Comrade Jeno Kovacs stated: The truth is that the economic reform in our country began to show symptoms of stagnation and unforseen shortcomings over the last 10 years. However, today we are clearly aware of these shortcomings, and we are trying to eliminate them. We would like to intensify the working people's self-confidence as owners of the social production means by increasing their sense of responsibility related to these means. Our practical experience has taught us that the best managers are those who feel they are the owners of the production means. This does not only apply to the management of private property, but also to the public sector.

The question of property and management is considered a basic issue, and for this reason it is the focus of attention of our entire party. In our opinion, proper management means an increased material interest of the working people and a striving for spirit of enterprise and renewal.

On the other hand, we are struggling for Hungary's integration within the international division of labor because we cannot help thinking in world dimensions today, and because borders between states should not be an obstacle to updated economic relations.

Our economic policy should be more actively oriented toward the West and the "Third World" by further improving hitherto existing relations and establishing more effective, new ones. This is the reason why we are encouraging foreign capital investments and the creation of joint enterprises in Hungary.

The third, strategic trend in the Hungarian economy is the elimination of its technical and technological backwardness, and its updated restructuring. There is no doubt that this is a complicated and difficult process, but we should implement it in order to be successful and prove that socialism is the better socioeconomic system, Jeno Kovacs pointed out.

I directed our conversation toward the state of the MSZMP and and again Comrade Jeno Kovacs answered my questions in a precise and businesslike manner. He shared his thoughts on the leading role of the MSZMP at the present stage of development, by stressing that the party is recognized by the people only if it leads them toward successes and achievements. According to my interviewee, the results achieved in Hungary in recent years are not satisfactory, and this was the reason why political confidence in the MSZMP somehow deteriorated in recent years. It turned out that confidence is not a matter of official declarations, but of inner conviction, Jeno Kovacs said.

Our main obligation today is to rescue the country from the emerging difficulties, and to learn from our own mistakes, as well as to work out a policy that should produce lasting achievements and results. On the other hand, we are obliged more realistically to assess the current international situation and to even further develop the democratization of our society. We can do this only if we have a strong communist party and a strong left-wing movement within the country.

We also dealt with the subject of certain MSZMP members leaving the party, or dropping out of it.

Under the conditions of the transition to a multiparty system people who are interested in political work will have the opportunity of engaging in such activities that will not be limited to one, single party. The opportunities of political involvement are expanding, and we should by no means be afraid of this fact. Even today some people in the MSZMP are closer to other parties and movements, in their way of thinking. Nevertheless, they are by no means opposed to the people's government, but, on the contrary, support it. Such people will naturally try to find their place in other parties, which are now in the process of establishment. Nevertheless, certain MSZMP members are leaving the party ranks because they do not accept the criticism against the party for its shortcomings. These, in my opinion, are the two main reasons for the persistent exodus from the ranks of the MSZMP. At the same time, I should stress that the reverse movement has also been recently observed. Numerous young people are attracted to the MSZMP and submit applications for membership. This fact is a source of inspiration and encouragement for us. Numerous citizens (over 120,000 people) came to Janos Kadar's funeral. Such events confirm the fact that our party continues to enjoy the people's confidence and that it has a future.

Our interview naturally touched upon the forthcoming MSZMP Congress scheduled to take place in the autumn of 1989. I asked Comrade Jeno Kovacs what made it necessary to elect the so-called party "leadership quartet", which includes Comrades Rezso Nyers, Karoly Grosz, Miklos Nemeth, and Imre Pozsgay, at one of the MSZMP Central Committee Plenums. My interviewee expressed the opinion that the party's leading quartet, to some extent, represents the four basic trends which manifested themselves within the party ranks in recent years. These trends were consolidated at the plenum of the MSZMP Central Committee which decided to hold the congress in autumn 1989 and unanimously approved the proposed agenda.

This is an undoubtable success achieved in inner-party life, without which the MSZMP would have been affected by fractionalism.

The congress will discuss three important problems, Comrade Jeno Kovacs said. The congress will solve the problem of the party's attitude toward the past, towards its positive and negative aspects. A new program of action will be adopted on this basis, a program that should be conform with the country's situation and with the established multi-party system. The congress will be entrusted with the task of approving the party's guiding principles and its methods of action.

I asked Comrade Jeno Kovacs about his forecast for the forthcoming elections.

It is very difficult to make any forecasts under the present circumstances, he answered. Everything is still in a state of flux. The new parties and political movements are just about to specify their programs and clarify their platforms. The MSZMP will try to elect a parliament likely to confirm restructuring in the country's life. The party also expects the election of a government in which it should continue to play an important role. We will see to it that both the government and the opposition should exert a constructive influence upon the party's policy. I am convinced that Hungary will be ruled by a really strong government following the elections, a government capable of resolving the country's economic problems in a truly efficient manner.

Last, but not least, during the interview we tried to find answers to the questions of the MSZMP's approach toward CEMA and the Warsaw Pact organization. The Hungarian economy is capable of successfully developing only in close mutual relations with CEMA, Comrade Jeno Kovacs stated. Nevertheless, the MSZMP is convinced that CEMA needs a modernization process and that integration should not be a one-way street, that our economic organizations should not remain isolated within its own framework, but should open to other parts of the world.

The Warsaw Pact organization also requires a modernization process, Comrade Jeno Kovacs declared. It should be adapted to the new political thinking and to the common European home. The MSZMP and all the other parties and movements currently in the process of being established in Hungary accept the existence of two military political alliances in Europe, but are simultaneously convinced that both organizations should soon be disbanded for the sake of implementing the idea of mankind's common planetary home, which was launched by Mikhail Gorbachev.

As parties of two countries linked to each other by a similar historical fate, the MSZMP and the Bulgarian Communist Party are called upon to develop and enrich their mutual relations, Comrade Jeno Kovacs stated in conclusion. We can even more closely cooperate in advancing toward our common goal—the construction of socialism—and in doing so, we should take advantage of the great opportunities provided for our two parties and countries by the comprehensive processes of restructuring and renewal in their sociopolitical life.

Opposition To Reject Call To Enter Coalition

AU0308122689 Paris AFP In English
1205 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 3 (AFP)—The opposition will turn down a fresh appeal by the new Polish Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak to join a coalition government, the Solidarity newspaper GAZETA WYBORCZA said Thursday.

Just hours after his election Wednesday, General Kiszczak renewed calls for the Solidarity-led opposition, which swept limited elections in July, to enter the government which he is now forming.

Gen Kiszczak, speaking on television, said he would meet members of the opposition in the coming days and ask them to join his cabinet.

But the Solidarity daily pointed out that the de facto opposition leader, Lech Walesa, had already turned down such an offer when he met President Wojciech Jaruzelski recently.

Mr Walesa told Gen Jaruzelski he was prepared to form only a Solidarity government.

GAZETA described the situation as "very clear."

"The opposition will remain in opposition and all speculation about sharing responsibilities with the government and its allies is going to die away."

The paper said the priority now, besides parliamentary activity, must be to strengthen the Solidarity union with a "better organised" social base and reinforce the position of the opposition throughout society, particularly through the activities of Solidarity's "civic committees" in companies.

The opposition needed to be stronger before taking over responsiblity for "saving" Poland, GAZETA said, in an apparent reference to Mr Walesa's statement that President Jaruzelski would sooner or later have to turn to the opposition to sort out the country's problems.

The newspaper added that Poles were "not at all happy" with the election of Gen Kiszczak, which the opposition had voted against in parliament, even if he had worked in recent months for rapprochement between the authorities and Solidarity.

The former interior minister, who led the 1981 martial law crackdown, would remain, whatever he does, "the representative of a party—the Communist Polish United Workers' Party—which has bred only a situation replete with difficulties for the people," GAZETA said.

Further on Kiszczak Election as Prime Minister

Kiszczak Outlines Plans

LD0208135989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0722 GMT 2 Aug 89

[From the relay of the Polish Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] [Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz] We now go on to item four of the agenda—a motion from the president of the Polish People's Republic to appoint the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

I would like to inform the House that I have received the following letter from the president of the Polish People's Republic [Wojciech Jaruzelski]:

On the basis of Article 32S, Paragraph 1, item 6 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, I submit to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic a motion to appoint citizen Czeslaw Kiszczak as Council of Ministers chairman. Citizen Czeslaw Kiszczak's leadership, political and social qualities as well as his personal characteristics fully justify the submission of his candidature as head of government in the present, especially difficult, period. His organizational talent, boldness in thought and decisionmaking, and ability to make use of expert opinion measure up to the requirements of the day, while his role in the construction of national accord and his experience in dialogue and collaboration with representatives of various forces in our society represent an important qualification for success in the task with which I intend to charge him.

Would the candidate to the office of Council of Ministers chairman, citizen Czeslaw Kiszczak, take the floor please.

[Kiszczak] Citizen speaker: May it please the House, public awareness is dominated by economic problems. It is on these that the country's future depends. The situation is deteriorating in a dramatic way. The market has broken down, inflation is raging and the public is being seized with fear over basic living conditions. Such is the state of affairs.

Should the future government, with assistance from the deputies and senators, fail to find effective ways of changing the situation, the country is threatened with a catastrophe which may annihilate more than just the government. I am aware that in this situation my candidacy for premier is something of a surprise, especially in the light of my work until now. But many years of political, state, and organizational-managerial experience gained in leading large teams have persuaded me to undertake this task. I am not an expert in economic matters, but I have the will to create the working conditions for the best specialists in the country in the economic field. I am in favor of complete openness and publicity in government undertakings. I see extensive

public control of government actions as an especially important factor for verifying the correctness of the adopted solutions. That is why I think it entirely justified that a special joint Sejm and Senate commission should be set up to monitor the government's economic activity.

Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski's outgoing government has not had too much time to successfully counter the negative economic tendencies of many years' standing, but it started actions going in the right direction. The new government should continue these, while at the same time carefully analyzing both the achievements and failures of the previous cabinet.

We are entering a very trying time deriving from the decision to introduce market mechanisms into the economy. Should the House entrust me with the task of forming the government, I state that it will do everything in its power to secure the conditions for implementing this inevitable economic operation. Bearing this in mind, I intend to entrust the post of a deputy premier to Citizen Deputy Ireneusz Sekula, who held the same office in the previous cabinet and on whose abilities and professionalism I count on.

Citizen Speaker: May it please the House, it would be immodest and premature to present already today an integrated and specific vision of the future government's program. That requires time, in-depth thinking, and very broad consultation. However, I would like to draw your attention to some key issues.

On the basis of opinions and assessments of many eminent economists of all manner of political orientation, including some who occupy parliamentary benches, I believe that the government program, in a broad economic sense, should cover three kinds of undertakings.

1. A set of immediate measures for the next few months, halting the real danger of complete economic destabilization, and consequently even political destabilization. The key element is to save the market by creating opportunities for supply, especially of food and other staple goods. Consequently, drastic steps will have to be taken, including in particular, a halt on the investment project front, reexamining the expediency and profitability of our exports, including cattle. Next, budget cuts, unfortunately not excluding some sectors of the social field. And finally, halting the excessive issue of money.

The government will have to pay close attention to countering grave difficulties in the first phase of the process of introducing market mechanisms. That is why, in my opinion, we should retain the office of the government plenipotentiary for the introduction of market mechanisms, who would be empowered to prevent disruptions in food supply, especially of meat and meat products, to large urban-industrial complexes. This intention follows from a complete understanding of the burdens and difficulties which have become the lot of many Polish families. The government will pay constant attention to the urgent need to ease the daily inconveniences suffered by the citizens, especially mothers, wives, and elderly people, labor veterans, old-age and disability pensioners.

Extreme situations require extreme measures. For example, I see possibilities for significant savings in budget expenditures, including a continuation of the savings measures being implemented in the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs; although at the same time I emphasize that these measures require careful and wide-ranging consultations, as they could also have negative effects.

I would like to present for the consideration of the House—the parliamentary floor groups—the idea of setting up a team of experts drawn from all political groups and orientations, who enjoy the Sejm's confidence, which as an urgent and special measure would prepare for the government a multi-option plan for rescuing the economy, especially as far as overcoming inflation is concerned.

2. Middle-term actions, planned for the next 18 months to 2 years: They would include undertakings leading to significantly advancing the process of introducing market mechanisms into the economy and to self-sufficiency in food, including meat and meat products, but at the same time coupled with purposeful policy of state interventionism serving, among other things, the appropriate shaping and strengthening of the market as well as the implementation of important economic and social objectives. In conditions of an acute imbalance, rational interventionism is a necessary thing, since the market mechanisms will not themselves automatically solve many serious problems, which we cannot watch helplessly.

For instance, I refer to the drop in agricultural production, meat and milk. It is especially indispensable in overcoming the organizational and bureaucratic barriers hampering the introduction of market forces, for instance the fight with especially harmful—economically and socially—monopolistic practices. Interventionism may, however, be among the instruments of direction only when other instruments fail, and must be subordinated to economic rules and mechanisms.

3. Actions having a strategic character—they were agreed on at the roundtable, they are described in a formula agreed on at the roundtable—on the construction of the new economic order based on economic pluralism, the genuine equality for all forms of ownership as well as on the money-and-commodity situation. The implementation of the strategic aims will be possible only when the ad hoc and short-term actions are subordinated to them and in tune with main directions of changes.

There is no doubt that agriculture is and will be the issue of greatest importance in all the actions of the government, along with issues of feeding the nation in its most widely understood sense. The agriculture and food economy can become one of the basic pillars and stimulators of the development of the whole national economy, a factor enhancing prospects, earning Poland much-needed foreign currencies.

According to many experts, there are large reserves in agriculture, sometimes very simple ones which can be introduced without greater outlay, without larger subsidies.

I am convinced that the Polish economy cannot be healed without far-reaching reshaping of ownership relations. The new government should urgently undertake actions aimed at socialization of state property, mainly by the introduction of employees' shares. I have long been a supporter of setting up a promotional and credit institution under the name "Employees' Shareholding," which would facilitate and propagate the purchase of shares by the employees, which would attach them to their enterprise, commit them to the quantity and quality of production, costs, savings.

Within the framework of the new cabinet, I consider it indispensable to set up a new Treasury Ministry with wide-ranging powers over tax policy, which would be rigorous but just, and powers to stimulate production. It would also manage all national property, all national assets.

I am in favor of determining the guidelines and extent of the transformations of property relations, including the privatization of some state property and its sale to foreign capital, to be done exclusively on the basis of parliamentary decision and based on very precise regulations.

The whole government policy in the long-term should be subordinated to the general priority of overcoming inflation and improving the state of our currency. There can be no normal economy or a normal state without a stable currency. There is no other road to a strong and stable state than the creation of a goods and money economy based on a normalized market and a healthy zloty. Nor is the normal functioning of the economy possible without the elimination of numerous obstacles resulting from bureaucratic practices and from the indolence and inertia of various administrative and economic cells. I could go on forever with examples of nonsense; I am sure that each and every one of you citizen deputies also could present a sizeable catalog of these. The new government should commit itself to decisively overcoming the frequently absurd obstacles and difficulties which hamper the correct and logical solutions.

The issues connected with economic links between Poland and the world remain a difficult problem. So far, our counting on special assistance from the West, the hope of a torrent of dollars which would rejuvenate our economy, have not been justified. In spite of that, we have to strive to fashion the most beneficial international economic contacts. Therefore, we have to attain a state of (?internal) stability, because economies and trade do not take likes and sentiments into consideration. Only a peaceful, internally-stable Poland can count on an influx of capital.

These are the issues to which the new government should address itself and deal with consistently, drawing on the advice and views of all parliamentary floor groups and seeking parliamentary approval. But above all the cabinet should patiently seek public understanding and confidence.

Citizen deputies: Of great importance for future progress of the country's affairs is the extensive sociopolitical field. The development of the democratization processes moves to the forefront. Society needs pluralism of structures and views, openness of public life, and the rule of law as much as a healthy and stable economy. The principal directions of democratization were determined in the roundtable accords; and they came from the programmatic ideas of all political and trade union groups represented by the floor groups in parliament. Slowing down their realization would mean squandering this socially-accepted achievement. I am convinced that the government should start to work vigorously to create the legal basis for a new model of public life.

First, it appears that an important and urgent task is the adoption of an act on political parties.

This is connected, side-by-side with the new law on associations which has recently come into force with the need to guarantee the freedom of assembly.

Secondly, the work on amending the criminal law, the misdemeanor law, and the civil law urgently needs to be completed.

Thirdly, legislative work aimed in principle at subjecting to judicial control all administrtive decisions—with a few exceptions clearly defined in the law—needs to be speeded up.

And fourth and finally, of great importance for internal democratization will be acts on communal property and local self- government, simplifications in the passport policy, and the setting up of a radio and television programming council.

I would like to emphasize that the concept of democracy cannot be treated in isolation. Poland needs democracy but also discipline. The clearing up of much of the mess in our country requires neither great outlays or hard-currency support, but discipline and a sense of responsibility. In this context, I would like to emphasize that a

democratic, strong, and well-managed Polish state should be a common concern of all Poles irrespective of their belief, irrespective of their views and organizational affiliation.

I would like to ask the esteemed deputies to treat my speech as a personal view of matters and problems which a new government will face. It needs to be expanded on—that is, it needs to be comprehensively consulted and verified. Should the House charge me with the task of forming the government, the ideas outlined here will become the nucleus and the groundwork of a program which would be presented to the Sejm in the premier's program.

Esteemed ladies and citizens deputies, thank you for your attention. [applause]

Grants Interview to PAP

LD0208163889 Warsaw PAP in English 1451 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 2—In his interview granted to PAP after his nomination for the post of the prime minister, Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak said:

I would like the new government to be a government of grand coalition and I would do my best so that it become such a body. This, however, depends on all our partners in the Sejm.

President Wojciech Jaruzelski conducted broad consultations with our allies, with people enjoying great prestige in this country, including Mr Lech Walesa, before he decided to recommend me for the post of prime minister. I also held numerous talks before I made the decision. During the last two days I talked with all the chairmen of the deputies' clubs and MPs from various floor groups. I wanted to find out whether they would vote for me and how likely it was, and what was the possibility of establishing a grand coalition government. Till the very last moment I was not sure whether I would be elected.

I reiterate the proposal which I made earlier and which was also made by Wojciech Jaruzelski. While forming a new government I will return to talks with the opposition leadership and I will persuade them to join the grand coalition government.

While forming the government I will try to present candidates to appropriate Sejm committees so that they can issue their opinions. If a candidate wins a positive opinion of the committee I will present him to the Sejm. If a committee rejects a candidate I will not persist in the face of justified objections and I will look for a new candidate until I form a government whose composition will be accepted by the Sejm.

I plan to hold the first talk either with minister or vice minister of agriculture currently in office, Kiszczak said. Prime Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak told a group of newsmen that so far he had been considered a taciturn minister. But a minister of internal affairs should speak little. And as a prime minister—even if I do not want to—I will have to meet journalists more often, said he.

Comments on Government

LD0208163189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1155 GMT 2 Aug 89

["Excerpt" from unscheduled news conference for domestic and foreign correspondents by General Czeslaw Kiszczak immediately upon his election as chairman of the Council of Ministers on 2 August in Warsaw; all correspondents unidentified—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Congratulations, and a question: Does the government need 100 days, perhaps the way it is done in the United States, before there can be first results? How will it be with your cabinet?

[Kiszczak] I would like to achieve results more quickly, perhaps even if they are not great results.

[Correspondent] Can you say you are not an economist? Are you going to debate the economists?

[Kiszczak] I will take into the government as many wise people as possible; I could not manage without them.

[Correspondent, in Russian] Your first feelings upon being elected?

[Kiszczak] I am taking on the post of Council of Ministers chairman during a difficult situation for Poland. On the one hand, I am proud of having been elected by the Sejm, but I am aware of the enormity and gravity of the tasks ahead of me, mainly because of this difficult situation.

[Correspondent] What will your first moves be?

[Kiszczak] Agriculture, agriculture, and once again agriculture.

[Correspondent] Do you believe you will succeed?

[Kiszczak] I am a moderate optimist. My optimism has always been full of realism; I never have my head above the clouds. I try to walk on Earth, close to people and their concerns. I believe in people and because I do, I believe I will succeed with this difficult mission I have taken on. You can be convinced, gentlemen, that I have not been afflicted with the washer woman's illness [choroba praczek]. I do not know if you are aware what the symptoms of the washer woman's illness are: The washer women, who wash dirty linen all their lives, cannot imagine that clean linen exists. Having served for many years in the Armed Forces, in intelligence and counterintelligence and for the last 8 years as minister of

internal affairs, I too, for obvious reasons, have dealt with human issues. Nevertheless, I still believe in people and I have not lost my belief in people.

[Correspondent] In that case, do you believe that members of the opposition will enter the government?

[Kiszczak] I would like this to happen very much, and I will warmly encourage them to do this.

[Correspondent] What do you think about the opposition's cabinet the shadow cabinet, which will be created soon?

[Kiszczak] So far I have had no opportunity to get acquainted with this proposal in more detail, this proposal to have a shadow cabinet. Once I familiarize myself with it, perhaps then I will be able to say something on this topic.

[Correspondent] How do you view your cabinet's public credibility in light of the fact that it was not supported by the All-Polish Peace Committee?

[Kiszczak] I will do everything I can to convince the public that choosing me was correct, to convince them as to the government that will be created. I am aware that without such widespread support my government, or any government, will not be able to do anything.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] propose to the opposition, and have you got anyone in particular in mind?

[Kiszczak] At present I can say, in general terms, that I would be ready to offer the post of the first deputy premier to a representative of the opposition, for instance to be responsible for the economy. Other ministries also can be considered, responsible and serious posts in the government. This is something to be discussed and agreed on.

[Correspondent] do you have any specific person in mind?

[Kiszczak] No, so far I do not have any specific person in mind, apart from one candidate, Ireneusz Sekula, whom I have named in public. I have not named anyone else in public and will not do so without consultation, wide consultation.

[Correspondent] Being the prime minister, can you keep the post of internal affairs minister?

[Kiszczak] No, I will not keep the post of internal affairs minister because I could not cope with both these important loads of duties.

[Correspondent] And who are you going to propose for it?

[Kiszczak] I do not know yet. I have a candidate, but I am sorry, I am not going to divulge his name.

[Correspondent] It is said that Stanislaw Ciosek is going to be deputy prime minister for national accord affairs. What (?can you tell us about that)?

[Kiszczak] I would not like to make statements today about the personal composition apart from the one name I have already mentioned because I am proceeding from the position that the candidates for the posts have to be very carefully selected and extensively consulted so that there are no instances of their being rejected by the Sejm commissions, so that there are no instances of the parliament later rejecting individuals or even my entire proposed government.

[Correspondent] In that case, how long will we have to wait until the new government is formed?

[Kiszczak] I did say that I wanted to ask the house for about 2 weeks. I would like to form the government as quickly as possible. It is hard to say whether I will succeed. Much will depend on the commissions.

[Correspondent] [words indistinct] private interests, Prime Minister?

[Kiszczak] At one time, I had a great many, but now they have shrunk to very few. I am 64. Well, a bit of sports.

[Correspondent] Have you already used your leave during this holiday period?

[Kiszczak] No, I have not used a single day yet. I like shooting game.

[Correspondent] Large game?

[Kiszczak] Both large and small game.

[Correspondent] You appear fit. What sports do you participate in?

[Kiszczak] I used to ski, to run. Now all that is left is going for walks, I'm afraid.

[Correspondent] What about culinary interests? What do you like best?

[Kiszczak] Potato pancakes.

[Correspondent] How is your wife going to take this decision to appoint you premier?

[Kiszczak] My wife is abroad at the moment. She has gone to a spa to improve her health and get rid of a touch of rheumatism in her bones, so I do not even know if she knows I was a candidate for prime minister or that I was elected.

[Correspondent] It could lead to a divorce, Prime Minister.

[Kiszczak] Well, anything is possible, but at my age these things are hardly likely.

[Correspondent] Will your first visit be to the Soviet Union?

[Kiszczak] I do not know where I will be going.

Views Formation of Government

LD0208202189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Report on interview with Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak by unidentified correspondent in Warsaw—live or recorded]

[Text] [Kiszczak] The president of the Polish People's Republic, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, held wide-ranging consultations with our allies and people of great authority, including Mr Lech Walesa, before deciding to recommend me for the premiership. I also held many talks before I made the decision. I met all the deputies of several parliamentary floor groups yesterday. Before that I held talks with all leaders of these groups, because I wanted to find out, first of all, if they would vote for me and, secondly, if so, the possibility of creating a coalition government. I was not sure if I was going to be elected until the last minute. I did not know what the results of voting were going to be.

[Correspondent] Before the vote you said in your statement that it would be most valuable to create the government of great coalition. Has such a government any chance of being created, and how great would the coalition be?

[Kiszczak] I continue to maintain this proposal. In any case, this proposal was made earlier by Gen Jaruzelski. When forming the government I will return to the talks with the leadership of the opposition, and I will ardently encourage them to enter the government of great coalition.

[Correspondent] We awaited the election of the president with great impatience, we awaited equally impatiently the election of the premier. Now, even more impatiently we are waiting for a new government. When would you be able to propose the first candidates of the new government?

[Kiszczak] I will try gradually to present the candidates to the relevant Sejm commissions and ask their opinions. If a candidate garners a positive opinion from the commission then I will present him to the Sejm. If the commissions have significant reservations or reject the candidate proposed by me, then of course I will not insist, if the reservations are justified, and I will look for other candidates, as long as it takes to have a government which would be approved by the Sejm.

[Correspondent] What do you consider as the most important issue today?

[Kiszczak] That of feeding the nation, of filling empty shelves. I will devote all my efforts as the head of the new government. My first talks will be either with the minister of agriculture or the deputy minister of agriculture, because this is an issue which is extremely significant at present.

[Correspondent] And now a question which is almost a private one: Can our television news expect constant contact with you?

[Kiszczak] So far I have been known as a minister who very rarely appeared on television and gave few interviews. This is probably a good thing for the minister of internal affairs. Such a minister as a matter of course should say little. But as a premier—even if I did not want to—I will have to meet you more often and be a more frequent guest of television news and television in general.

Agriculture Main Priority

LD0208200189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1730 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Excerpt] A new premier has been elected in the Sejm, in full public view, with voting. The debates were broadcast by radio and television. The new premier is General Czeslaw Kiszczak. He received the backing of 237 deputies. Here is a short interview which he gave to our correspondent:

[Begin Kiszczak recording] My first decision is to hold a meeting with the current Agriculture Minister and to discuss the work of feeding the nation. In my opinion this is a key issue. Agriculture, agriculture and once more agriculture. Feeding the nation is a fundamental issue and, whether I like it or not, in the first months of holding the responsibility of being director of ministers, over and above all else, I will have to oversee this matter. Other matters will take their turn.

I will try to form a new government within the next 2 weeks (?but it must be agreed). I must rush off to see the president. [end recording]

I must rush off to see the president, Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak said, and off he ran. President Wojciech Jaruzelski received Czeslaw Kiszczak; he congratulated him on his election by the Sejm to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Czeslaw Kiszczak also paid visits to party Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski; Sejm speaker Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz; Senate Speaker

Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski; Roman Malinowski, chairman of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasants' Party; and Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party.

The premier also has a meeting with a full member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Professor Aleksander Gieysztor. He held talks with Waclaw Marciniuk, deputy chairman of the National Trade Union Accord. [passage omitted]

GDR's Stoph Sends Greetings

LD0208211389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, conveyed a cordial congratulatory telegram to Czeslaw Kiszczak, on the occasion of his election as chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

Further Reportage on Sejm Proceedings in Warsaw

Proceedings Resume 2 Aug

LD0208125589 Warsaw PAP in English 0904 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 2—The Sejm resumed debates today just after hrs 9:00 a.m. Sejm speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz reminded that deputy Ryszard Bugaj motioned at yesterday's debate for appointing an extraordinary commission for assessing the outgoing government.

Deputy Bugaj put forward a motion on the issue.

Deputy Marian Orzechowski made a statement related to Bugaj's motion, in the name of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] floor group. "The PUWP floor group took part in the discussion on the resignation of Mieczyslaw Rakowski government with anxiety and concern over the fate of the country and over the atmosphere in which the new government will be bound to work. The PUWP floor group agreed for appointing the extraordinary commission guided by extreme good will and the wish to cooperate with the opposition in a constructive way. By this, we signalled that we wanted a fully objective assessment of the outgoing government, and not a black-looking, uniform evaluation, we wanted the assessment that would not exceed the facts, time limits and situation in which that government had to wield power. However, that signal was not interpreted correctly. We are sorry to state that the course of that discussion, its character and climate and also the reactions to matter-of-fact statements by members of the government, all of them exceeding by far the assessment of Rakowski government, force the PUWP floor group to withdraw its support for the motion for appointing the extraordinary commission," Orzechowski concluded.

Deputy on 'Political Murders'

LD0208165189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1515 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Speech by Deputy Tadeusz Kowalczyk of the citizens Parliamentary Group at Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, may it please the House. The minister of internal affairs a few days ago sent a letter to Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, asking for Deputy Tadeusz Kowalczyk—that is myself—to present to the ministry, the Prosecutor's Office, or the prosecutor general the circumstances which are known to me and which justify the accusation I made from the Sejm rostrum: that militia and security service officers in the period since the introduction of martial law have committed several dozen, or nearly 100, political murders.

In connection with the above I state: Firstly, the Ministry of Internal Affairs leadership knows best the circumstances of political murders committed by its employees. During investigations into each case of this sort, relevant proof was presented to the militia, the prosecutor, and the courts. However, this did not contribute in any way to the punishment of the true perpetrators of the murders, who—not without irony—were termed unknown perpetrators. If the Interior Ministry wishes to explain these cases in accordance with the law, it can do it at any time, beginning with, for instance, the most blatant cases, namely the murder of Piotr Bartoszcze and Grzegorz Przemyk.

Secondly, I am aware that irrespective of Interior Ministry actions, it is necessary to return to the issue of political murders as soon as possible. I propose that an Extraordinary Investigative Commission of the Sejm be appointed, whose task would be to investigate these matters. A list has been compiled by various independent institutions, including the Helsinki Committee in Poland, which has also presented it at an international forum during the Vienna conference.

The Polish Human Rights Defense League has also presented the relevant documents to the Sejm speaker. Such a commission should be equipped with far-reaching powers, in particular the right to interview witnesses, and should also have unlimited access to materials, documents, and premises of the Interior Ministry and prosecution organs. I am convinced that everyone who desires a truly law-abiding Poland and everyone who has nothing to hide will support this proposal.

Thirdly, I think that even before the commission is established it is necessary, because of the public interest, numerous letters, and the importance of the issue, to undertake the first steps in this matter. I therefore appeal to the public to convey to me information, circumstances, and proof of political murders committed by Security Service and militia officers.

Fourthly, following the publication in the mass media of a letter from the minister of internal affairs concerning the matter under discussion, I move that my statement should receive equally wide publication.

Finally, I would like to state that three deputies [words indistinct] are preparing a relevant document on this matter. Thank you.

Kuron on 'Murders'

LD0208212489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1623 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Remarks by Deputy Jacek Kuron at the Sejm session in Warsaw on 2 August—live]

[Text] Madam Speaker! May it please the house! I propose that we approach this very serious matter calmly. Can you not hear? I heard someone say: Louder! I propose that we approach this very serious matter calmly, for regardless of what the minister says about proof, it is a fact that broad public opinion—for one cannot count the percentage of society here—[passage indistinct] thinks that these are murders, that they are murders caused by (?criminals). It is hard to say if this is true, but of course the one and only proven fact—the murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko—causes people to take this approach.

I do not think this is a courtroom in which evidence can be examined. In light of this, it would seem—for the good of the ministry, in fact for [words indistinct], but for the good of the ministry, for the sense of law-abidance of the people of Poland—such a commission should be set up. It cannot, of course, cover cases (?being judged) by a court, for that is a different matter and must be examined differently. One could cite a number of arguments here, for instance the case of Grzegorz Przemyk, because something obvious and evident took place there, but that is a case for the court and another procedure. On the other hand, there are a number of cases in which the investigation was discontinued by the prosecutor, a number of cases which [words indistinct], which means that there is a feeling that priests are being murdered, in fact.

Let that commission look into it, (?check it out), and let it say that there are no facts [word indistinct]. Let us say that; then everything will be all right for everybody. On the other hand, the dispute here on whether or not to set up the commission makes the worst possible impression [words indistinct]. [applause]

Pudysz Replies to Charge

LD0208212389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1619 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Speech by Zbigniew Pudysz, deputy minister of internal affairs, at the Sejm session in Warsaw on 2 August—live]

[Text] Esteemed Citizen Speaker: May it please the house, I have listened with attention to the speech by Deputy Kowalczyk, and I wish, on behalf of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, to state and explain as follows: First, the letter from the minister of internal affairs was sent to the Sejm speaker first and then a few days later, it was published by the press. It is enough to compare the dates. Deputy Kowalczyk says that he found out about it from the press; that is another issue and not my affair. It was done the way it was for several reasons. First, the debate was relayed by television, and even here a question was asked if the live relay was being continued.

Second, Deputy Kowalczyk publicly made a serious and untrue accusation against the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW]. This allegation poses the danger of losing the necessary public trust that is so badly needed in the implementation of the tasks of the ministry. The ministry has as its duty to combat crimes and prevent negative social phenomena. This is a special topic at this time. Here is what Deputy Kowalczyk said; he quoted from his statement and I will do it again: Deputy Kowalczyk, on 10 July, speaking from this lofty Sejm rostrum, said—I quote—the MSW, since the introduction of martial law, has been guilty of several dozen, nearly 100, political murders—end of quote.

This, I repeat once again, is a serious accusation, and I state once again, a false one. On 10 July I asked the deputy to substantiate his accusation; I waited here in the hall. I did not get any explanation. I also listened carefully to today's arguments. Neither did Deputy Kowalczyk provide such substantiation in his statement today. The ministry is accused of several dozen, nearly 100 political murders. He cites a few cases, thereby demonstrating his ignorance of them, since all these cases were the subjects of investigation or court legal rulings.

Citizen deputies, I am not empowered to review legal court rulings by making statements. There is a procedure for this sort of thing. I am posing a question: What is the purpose of making such accusations? If someone makes an unsubstantiated accusation, he deprives the victim of a right to reply factually and solidly to such accusations. Such is the case so far.

With regard to Deputy Kowalczyk's motion to appoint an extraordinary Sejm investigative commission, I wish to express the following view in this case: This motion aims at eliminating the constitutional prosecution organs and the administration of justice, and at replacing the existing procedures, such as appeals and retrials. In light of the formation of so many Sejm commissions, my opinion is that I do not see the justification for this motion.

I will return now to Deputy Kowalczyk's statement. The court was interested in publishing this declaration in the press. I, too, want my declaration published in the press. I also am interested in having this declaration broadcast on television. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Michnik on Interior Ministry

LD0208213689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1630 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Remarks by Deputy Adam Michnik at the Sejm session in Warsaw on 2 August—live]

[Text] I am Adam Michnik, deputy from Bytom. Madam Speaker, may it please the house! My colleague from the citizen's floor group, Deputy Jacek Kuron, has tackled this issue from the point of view of the interest of the ministry. [laughter] I would like to tackle it from the point of view... [applause] I would like to tackle it from the point of view of the interests of historical truth. Both these points of view are justified.

I want to say that Minister Pudysz stated a certain point here which is very well-known to me as a historian. Several dozen years ago—here I turn to my colleagues from the United Peasant Party for support—in the parliament of the time, the minister of public security made a similar point on the subject of the murder of (Stanislaw Szczypiorek). These were the same points, the same arguments. It is Poland's unhappy fate, may it please the house, that since (?1936), this subject has cropped up in every Polish family: Who killed my nearest and dearest, my friends, my neighbors, my fellow-countrymen?

If Minister Pudysz says that Deputy Kowalczyk's question leads to a loss of society's vital trust in his ministry, then I protest. No, Minister, there is no public trust in your ministry, not as a result of this question, but as a result of the fact that the work of your ministry has been able to make people into criminals [word indistinct], among them many deputies and senators present here today.

If you ask, Mr Minister, who our desire to speak of these matters serves, our answer is very simple and amazingly clear: It serves the same interests as does the laying open to the generations of the security organs in the Soviet Union and Hungary today. We want this process to begin in Poland at last, so that we can live in a safer country. [applause]

Roundup of Sejm Debates

LD0308093589 Warsaw PAP in English 1545 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 2—At today's meeting the Sejm appointed Czeslaw Kiszczak as chairman of the Council of Ministers, called an extraordinary committee to examine activities of the outgoing government and heard replies to motions presented by MP's during the question time.

At the beginning Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz recalled that during the Tuesday debate MP Ryszard Bugaj (Solidarity) presented a motion to establish an extraordinary committee to examine activities of the outgoing government.

A statement on the issue was made by MP Marian Orzechowski on behalf of the PUWP [Polish United Worker's Party/PZPR] floor group. Yesterday the group expressed its consent for establishing the committee.

We state with regret that the course of discussion, its climate and also reactions on business-like, balanced statements of government members, going far beyond the assessment of Rakowski's government activities, force the PUWP floor group to withdraw its support for the motion to establish the extraordinary committee, Orzechowski said.

OKP [All-Polish Peace Committee] Deputy Bronislaw Geremek voiced his surprise with the Orzechowski statement. It turned out yesterday that the opposition criticised the government, he said, and because of this the PUWP deputy club is afraid of having the extraordinary committee ("not afraid" was heard from among PUWP deputies). If it is not afraid, Geremek went on, let us consider what is in favour and what is against a positive or negative judgment of the government.

Deputy Orzechowski replied that yesterday's discussion was not an unbiased criticism but a verdict given in advance on the Rakowski government. In order to terminate this avalanche, the PWUP club made its statement in a good intention.

The extraordinary committee for the examination and evaluation of the former government's activities was appointed by voting. 206 votes were for, 169 against, and 31 abstentions.

Nomination of Prime Minister The President's motion for the nomination of prime minister was the next item on the agenda.

Speaker Kozakiewicz told the house that he had received a letter from the president which included a motion for the appointment of Czeslaw Kiszczak to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers. "His qualities as leader, politician, and public activist," the president wrote, "explain his candidacy to government chief in the present, difficult time. His organisational talents, courage of thinking and decision match the needs of the time. The role he played in the construction of the national agreement and experience in dialogue and cooperation with representatives of various forces in our society are a major factor of success of the mission which I propose to entrust to him."

Addressing the deputies, Czeslaw Kiszczak outlined his preliminary conception of the programme of his future government.

On behalf of the PUWP parliamentary club deputy Marian Orzechowski said that his club was and continues to unchangeably opt for a government of national agreement and confidence, a grand coalition government. This would be in tune with the will and feelings of the overwhelming majority of Poles. Alas, so far the materialisation of this idea has been impossible.

Entrusting the office of prime minister to Czeslaw Kiszczak guarantees the continuation of changes in all spheres of social life, which stem from the round table decisions. The PUWP parliamentary club supports the candidacy of Czeslaw Kiszczak, Orzechowski declared.

The OKP Solidarity club will vote against Mr. Kiszczak said Deputy Bronislaw Geremek on behalf of his deputy floor group. We are against this candidacy because no personal reshuffling within the previous political establishment formed by the monopoly of a single party can solve the problems of this country.

We are able, in a responsible way and in the sense of realism, to form a national redemption government which would be adequate to the tasks, social needs and expectations.

Such a government of changes would be a chance for this country. This explains why the citizen's parliamentary club will vote against the proposed candidate.

Another OKP deputy Marek Jurek took the floor at this moment. Unfortunately, I have an impression that today's nomination contradicts the philosophy of the round table. The post of prime minister went to a politician representing both, the party which was totally defeated in the elections and the outgoing government. A question arises whether the aim is really to keep the continuity of the state, that is the continuity of the basic ingredients of our statehood, or the continuation of the system of authority, keeping the maximum of power in the same centre, keeping the political system has has been altogether rejected by Polish people in the election, and whose abandonment was accepted at the round table also by the hitherto ruling party.

Deputy Andrzej Bondarewski spoke on behalf of the SD [Democratic Party; DP] deputy club. We would favour a broad coalition government in which the opposition would have a major part. Since this is impossible, a government of smaller coalition is a necessity.

He voiced a conviction that this government would rely on the best parts of the programme of all political and social forces represented in the diet. Most DP deputies will vote for Czeslaw Kiszczak.

One more deputy addressed the house before voting. It was Antoni Furtak of OKP, who said that yesterday he had had no intention to insult Vice-Premier Olesiak. But as regards the subject discussed, he maintains his opinion.

The Sejm voted for Czeslaw Kiszczak as Polish prime minister, with 237 for, 173 against, and 10 abstentions.

Address of New Prime Minister

The newly-elected prime minister spoke next. Thanking for giving him the honourable mission of government formation, Kiszczak said, among other things:

I shall do all in my powers never to betray this confidence. I seriously think about those deputies who voted against me. Their opinion makes me look for ways and methods for winning over broader parliamentary and social understanding and approval for the activities of the government I am going to form.

I am sorry to note that the conception of making a grand coalition government has not been adopted thus far. I believe that a government of this particular structure would be the best to steer this country's affairs today. Therefore, while beginning the formation of the cabinet on a possibly widest basis, I shall never stop trying to attract to it representatives of opposition groups in the hope that a grand coalition government will be possible in future.

I opt for a round table government. I am not referring only to the symbol of national agreement and conciliation but first of all to the essence and means of shaping the dialogue process.

The round table agreement outlines a vision of Poland's development satisfying the aspirations and expectations of Poles. The new government should head for the materialisation of this vision—especially of the shape of the new economic order and political reforms—with its full efforts. As co-chairman of the round table I feel morally and politically obliged to guarantee the agreement reached by the Poles. I, therefore, will do all to keep the directions of the government activities in line with the supreme reasons of state and nation.

The seriousness of the internal situation, especially in the sphere of economy, imposes the necessity to act possibly quickly. I would like, therefore, to ask the high chamber to let me present the program of work and composition of the Council of Ministers within a fortnight.

At this point Deputy Bronislaw Geremek spoke. As part of clearing accounts with the old Cabinet on behalf of the citizens' parliamentary floor group OKP, I beg vice-premier Olesiak to accept apologies. I only want to say that we shall never refrain from criticising all that is wrong in the work of the government, we shall, however, try to watch our manners, Geremek said.

Replies to Interpellations

First to speak under this agenda item was national defence minister, General Florian Siwicki. Interpellations made by a few deputies were about the violation of air-traffic regulations by Soviet Air-Force planes on the Polish territory and about the tragedy at the Lubin airfield.

General Siwicki told the house about the legal status of the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland, and especially about the pledge of the Soviet Government to repair the losses caused to the Polish state, its citizens and institutions. In tune with these principles, the losses caused by the previous several accidents have been repaired.

The minister also said that the tragedy of collision of a military aircraft with a club glider of Lubin was caused by Soviet pilot who broke the regulations and violated the air space of the gliding club. After the commission of experts issued its verdict legal proceedings were instituted in cooperation with the prosecutor's office. The insurance agency PZU will measure the losses and order the payment of repairs.

General Siwicki also briefed the deputies on the talks with chief commander of Soviet Air Force Marshal Yefimov who expressed words of sorrow over the tragic accident. These talks led to the pledge of the Soviet side to limit exercises on the Przemkow air-force firing ground and to withdraw an air-force regiment from Kolobrzeg already in August, leaving only a subdivision of helicopters there.

The national defence minister said, among other things that the deployment of Soviet troops is dictated by the adopted strategic concepts. The talks held in Geneva may contribute to a change in this concepts and provide a basis for gradual reduction of the Soviet military presence in these areas, where this presence is particulrly irritating.

Replying to the question about the recent conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest Siwicki said that its results had been published in the Polish press. He stressed that in Bucharest there were no attempts to interfere into the internal affairs of Poland or any other state. The outcome of the conference is good for Poland and for the atmosphere of detente and cooperation on the European continent, the minister explained.

The general's explanation cannot satisfy me, said deputy Edmund Krasowski of the OKP parliamentary floor group. Referring to some wordings in the Bucharest communique which concerned joint measures in the interst of defending socialism and mutual information about matters internal and external policy, he said that there is a contradiction between consolidating socialism and the possibility of reforms.

General Siwicki did not share Deputy Krasowski's fears and replied that hte perfection of the system based on socialism is possible and that this system of justice can and should be reformed. This is where we are going, he said.

The same issue was also referred to by Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski who said that the Bucharest conference had confirmed the concordance of the main lines amidst considerable pluralism of views presented in the discussion.

The joint position especially involved the reduction of confrontation and expansion of the East-West dialogue, the continuation of the CSCE process. The building of a common european house, making of bridges between the East and West of Europe, predominated in the conference.

Olechowski further said that he advocates non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and he prefers avoiding any pointsof controversy. He said that during the Bucharest meeting, there was a variety of concepts of roads of socialist development but this included nothing whatsoever that could mean imposing one's opinions on anyone. The principle that nobody has a monopoly on truth has been confirmed there. Interpellated by deputy Geremek over the in absentia death sentence issued on Zdzislaw Najder in 1983, head of the Justice Ministry, Undersecretary of State Wojciech Tomczyk informed the house that the first president of the Supreme Court had motioned to the military chamber of the Supreme Court for an extraordinary appeal of the case finding procedural faults done during the judgment. The motion also draws attention to the lack of proportion between the punishment and the fact that even the important circumstances had not been clarified to correctly evaluate the alleged crime. The appeal seeks cancellation of the verdict and referral of the case to the court of 1st instance for review.

A number of deputies took part in a discussion that followed Vice-Minister Tomczyk's explanation. OKP Deputy Jan Rokita said that his floor group members have a special attitude to this question and this is why they would await the result of the appeal trial. He also asked what the government planned to do to repair other wrongs done to Zdzislaw Najder, particularly, stripping him off the Polish citizenship.

Tomczyk said he is not able to answer because the speaking of wrongs will only be possible after the appeal trial has been completed by the military chamber of the Supreme Court.

Shortly after this part of debate the Sejm speaker received a letter from Deputy Geremek saying that he finds the answers to interpellations unsatisfactory and declares further interpellations over the case of Zdzislaw Najder to the new government.

Answering a question asked by Deputy Zdzislaw Czarnobilski (PUWP) Home Market Minister Marcin Nurowski described the rules of buying cars in Poland. He said that the only relic of car allotments today are allotments for the disabled. Cars are also being allotted to economic subjects in all sectors. These may sign contracts with prospective users of the cars entitling them to use the vehicles as company cars.

This way could also be used to provide physicians with cars and a contract can be signed by for example, provincial chief physicians. In both cases the number of cars is small. The government decided that about 70 per cent of national production and imports be used to solving the problem of buyers who paid in advance for their cars.

Next, referring to the minister of internal affairs' letter sent to the Sejm speaker and asking deputy Tadeusz Kowalczyk (Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group) to present circumstances known to him which would justify his accusation of militiamen and security service of committing several dozen political murders since the imposition of martial law, the deputy stated in part:

The Ministry of Internal Affai . knows best the circumstances of political murders committed by its men. Suitable evidence was presented to the militia, prosecutor's offices and courts during investigation proceedings. It did not, however, led to punishing perpetrators who were termed as "unknown". If the ministry wanted to disclose those cases in tune with the law, it has power to do so starting with the cases of Piotr Bartoszcze and Grzegorz Przemyk.

Deputy Kowalczyk suggested the appointment of a Sejm special investigation commission to examine cases mentioned by him. He said that their list would be made by various independent institutions, for instance, the Helsinki Committee in Poland and the Polish League for Human Rights Protection. In the deputy's opinion such a commission should have free access to materials and documents.

Kowalczyk also appealed to society to provide information on circumstances and evidence for political murders committed by employees of the security service and civic militia.

Deputy Bronislaw Wilk (OKP) forwarded an interpellation concerning breaches of law by a group of policemen from the Opole Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs. He described the course and consequences of the incidents and listed victims and functionaries to blame.

In reply Interior Vice-Minister Zbigniew Pudysz stated he had already given orders to thoroughly investigate into the incidents in question. He asked deputies to postpone the discussion on the interpellation to another Sejm meeting.

Referring to the words uttered by Deputy Kowalczyk to the effect that the Interior Ministry is to blame for nearly 100 political murders, Pudysz termed this statement as one laying a serious untrue charge in public and causing the ministry to sustain a loss of public trust.

The motion to set up a Sejm extraordinary investigation commission aims at eliminating constitutional bodies responsible for the state of order in Poland, Pudysz said.

After the interior vice-minister's statement a dozen or so deputies took part in a heated discussion.

Next the vice-minister again took the floor to declare the readiness of the Interior Ministry to cooperate with all Sejm committees, provide all information and allow for proper hearings of its officers at the request of both the Sejm Committee for Internal Affairs and the Senate Commission of Human Rights.

I maintain my motion to form an extraordinary commission to investigate into the affairs about which I spoke, Deputy Kowalczyk stated.

The motion was accepted with 174 votes for, 91 votes against and 33 abstentions.

On the last point of the agenda the Sejm established the composition of Sejm committees and also appointed an extraordinary committee to analyse and evaluate the activity of the outgoing government.

Jaruzelski Farewell Speech to Central Committee

AU0208161589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jul 89 p 3

["Fragments" of farewell speech by PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 13th PZPR Plenum in Warsaw on 29 July]

[Text] Dear Comrades! It is late and I do not wish to try your patience. I would like to thank you for the many years of trust you placed in me and the kind words which I have heard today. I know that at moments of parting like today, the sense of occasion usually produces a spate of rushed opinions, which are comparable to lavish praise, and an obituary, both at the same time. I am only joking, because I greatly value the warmth which you have extended to me. I also have the feeling that I have at times not been able to fulfill all the expectations which were tied to the policies of our party and its leadership. I gave my best efforts but at times the results were disproportionately low, compared to the effort. There were many causes for this, objective and subjective. We discussed these at this and at past plenums, and I do not propose to return to this subject here.

We have come a long way together. It was, and continues to be, the time when we have often had to make a choice of, if not the greater good, then the lesser evil. We learned much during those years. The main lesson is that

one must "keep one's ear close to the ground" and realistically assess the situation. We must be sensitive to what people, the workers class, and the nation think, how they live, and what they want. Thus, it is a question of lofty aims and everyday human matters. One does not make people happy with mere intentions, or programs, but with specific solutions that can be seen. This is where the problem lies.

Thus, what needs to be done? A basic issue, and the key to the future, is to reconcile the necessary and essential increase in economic effectiveness with the principles of social justice, the genuine achievement that socialism has brought. Our endeavors, our ambition, should be to strive for a Polish model of socioeconomic life which can bring optimum solutions in this sphere. However, this will not be possible without reaching national accord that will permit us to mobilize a greater part of our society than has hitherto been possible, to actively support the dificult but indispensable reforms.

That is why I regret that up till now, we have failed to form a government of a grand coalition. Nevertheless, I have not lost hope and I will continue my efforts to expand the ruling base, so as to make it pluralistic and not monopolistic.

In this spirit, I consider it particularly important that this new government should directly reflect the "round-table" and emphatically confirm the road of agreement, reforms, and renewal.

On the other hand, it should be an efficient government, one that respects and consolidates the democratic procedures, but at the same time a government that will firmly implement executive decisions. As we see, we cannot complain of a lack of decisions, resolutions, or programs. It is the implementation, which is badly at fault. Both generally, and more specifically, in everyday socioeconomic life. Yet it is here, that the great untapped reserves lie. These reserves require minimal or no material input at all. It is essential to regulate and oversee individual responsibility, so that everybody does what they have to do. They should receive an appropriate and fair report which will evaluate all they have done and what they have failed to do.

One should treat democracy, labor, and discipline, in conjunction. This will also include the role of the state, its organs, and the government, for example, the way it serves the country, and its feeling of responsibility toward the people, whose political, social, and material and cultural needs must be increasingly better satisfied.

One must think about a formula for a future government, taking into account the actual conditions, circumstances, and tasks.

Mature age, not to say old age, is associated with many known ailments. It has, however, one advantage, namely, the acquired experience that allows us to look at things objectively, to avoid purely "black or white" assessments, and in the final analysis, separate out that which is true and objective. It allows us to winnow out the chaff; the shallow, emotional reaction.

Granted, we must not falsely overglorify the past. This sort of cosmetic exercise will not get very far. But one must not fall silent, and turn one's back on real and genuine achievements.

We have many years of deficiencies which we have to make up and the coming months will see sudden accelerations. One must make up these deficiencies as soon as possible, at the same time taking care that the accelerations do not destabilize the country.

It is extremely important that we inculcate in the consciousness of party members and society those qualities which are timeless, fixed, and which make up our personality, and those qualities which are fluid, changeable, and which emerge from the reality and a changing situation.

Our prime aim and ardent hope is a strong, secure, and just Poland. One has to stress here the principle of social justice, which deserves particular protection in the tangle of present-day economic difficulties.

We frequently repeat "the same party but not the way it used to be," but these days this is already too little. It must be the same, as it has the same ideological roots from which it flowered, but it is already different as it has to keep up with the spirit of the times, new conditions, and an escalating scale of needs. It is a party which has to be able to meet the challenge of the turn of the 20th century.

Our party and its precursors were not spared the effects of the great storms of history.

No social movement can boast of only glorious achievements. It is the case that history often waits a long time before it delivers a just verdict.

Our error was to negate the achievements of the second republic. Today, a just evaluation of this period of history has finally reached the consciousness of society. I am convinced that it will be the case with the postwar 40 years.

The sovereignty of the state is not an abstract notion. It is not only a matter of formal recognition by treaty which determines it. Its true dimension depends on how much the country and its nation really mean on the political, economic, and civilization map of the world. True sovereignty is, above all, the capability of the economy to function efficiently in a world of competition and cooperation, its external security, and the rule of law in its everyday life.

Foreign countries look at us from precisely this point of view. They want see to what extent our solutions support the ongoing transformation in socialism, to what extent we are a credible, attractive, and efficient ally.

To what extent our situation is conducive to the improvement and development of East-West relations.

Only a stable Poland can give a positive answer to this question.

The 10th plenum showed that the precondition for facing up to challenges is losing one's fear of them. The 13th Plenum confirmed that we are not lacking in courage and healthy criticism. Once again we showed that the party can find a collective strength and wisdom even in exceptionally difficult conditions. We took a few steps closer to realizing a new vision of Polish socialism. We have sown good seeds.

The assumption of the office of the President of the Polish People's Republic, and its nationwide meaning, symbolism, and character of tasks, will require concentration on the state work, and this means resignation from the day-to-day party functions. I thank you for understanding this necessity.

Leaving this building, I would like to believe that the political base I originated from will continue to support my service in the name of the nation, both today and tomorrow.

Jaruzelski Meets With Outgoing State Council

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[Text] Warsaw, July 20—President Wojciech Jaruzelski met today with members of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic that ended its work on the day of the president's taking over the office, on the grounds of the law of April 7, 1989.

The gathered referred back to the work of the Council of State of the last term. Discussed was development of democracy with emphasis on self-government, support for various public initiatives and citizens' actions and the strengthening of law-abidingness.

It was stressed that the Council of State devoted much effort to achieving substantial progress in the areas with which it was concerned. Emphasized was the role of the Council of State in creating atmosphere and conditions for implementing coalitionism and national conciliction, especially its parliamentary forms. Stressed were also internal transformations and favourably developing international ties of that time.

Wojciech Jaruzelski thanked the gathered for their hitherto cooperation and active work.

Slisz Statement on Talks With Jaruzelski

AU0208111789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jul 89 p 2

[Statement made to PAP by Jozef Slisz, chairman of the Provisional National Council of Private Farmers Solidarity, following his talks with President Jaruzelski in Warsaw on 27 July]

[Text] During our talks the president informed me of his concept of the new government. According to him, the future government must be coalition-based and we, that is the "Solidarity" opposition, should accept the posts of deputy premier and five or six ministerial portfolios. The other portfolios would be distributed among other political groups. I asked General Jaruzelski how he thought it would work, as the other groupings could easily outvote us in the Council of Ministers. In such a situation the decisions made by our ministers would not be their decisions, but would be subject to the decision of the whole government. I informed him that the proposal was unacceptable.

I told the president that the "Solidarity" opposition side should form the next government. I stressed that I meant the whole ministerial cabinet, including the Ministries of Internal Affairs and National Defense. I indicated to the president that the new government must make the subject of local self-government in agriculture a priority. It must abolish the monopoly structure of the village cooperatives and make low-interest loans available to farmers. The democratization which is occurring at central level is not reaching the townships. On leaving, I was of the opinion that the matter of the government was still open and the president mentioned a few names of potential candidates for the premiership, but I would not wish to reveal these at this stage. It appears that President Jaruzelski wants to form a good government, but I do not know whether he will succeed.

Baka Address to Party Plenum Published

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[Speech by Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 28 July]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! Almost 1 year ago the Central Committee sharply criticized the socioeconomic situation. At the eighth plenum, in August 1988, it was said that society's dissatisfaction caused by the daily burdens of life—the shortage of many basic goods, high prices, bad services, and increasing environmental damage—had reached the danger level.

The government's economic policy and the method of reforming the economy was given a negative assessment. At that time, the most important objectives were considered to be an improvement to market supplies and

shopping conditions, a halt to the fall in housing construction, a reduction of inflation, and a halt to the fall in the purchasing power of money. That was 1 year ago.

Statistics, practice, and people's feelings all make it plain that not only have we failed to get anywhere near those objectives, but on the contrary the situation has become even worse. The market has virtually collapsed, the crisis in housing construction has deteriorated, inflation is breaking all records, and the dollar exchange rate has reached an absurd value. The Polish zloty is becoming a piece of paper. You have been handed copies of the Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Committee's stance, containing an in-depth assessment of the socioeconomic situation, so I will not describe it in detail. The key issue today is, first, to find out why the situation has deteriorated so much despite all the party's determination, the establishment of a precise path of action and undertakings to heal the economy, and the party leadership's unfailing attention to these problems; second, to find out what to do and what conclusions to draw so that next year we will not again have to admit that the economic situation has worsened (if it will be at all possible to make such an admission) and so that we will be able to say that a turn for the better has occurred and we are starting to solve problems that are most important from the point of view of people's material existence.

So what are the reasons for these difficulties? The reasons are varied, but are largely objective. The outdated economic structure inherited from the past and the high, choking level of foreign debts will continue to have a negative effect on our economy for a long time, making the process of restoring the functioning of the economy and raising efficiency difficult. The economy is gripped by helplessness, and the results of policies implemented yesterday and the day before yesterday will often materialize in 6 months time and even later. This has to be considered when assessing the government's activity and its effectiveness.

The uncurbed effects of the unsuccessful prices and incomes adjustments of 1988 are still affecting the economy, especially the financial and market situation. Here we have a very complex situation. Of course there are social barriers and obstacles that either prevent or seriously limit the possibility of overcoming the prices and wages spiral. Breaking this spiral continues to be a major task.

No suitable steps have yet been taken to break this spiral, possibly through fear of a social conflict. The condition of the economy is also dictated by the attitudes of people, illustrated on the one hand by routine and old habits, and a reluctance to change established ways of action, and on the other hand by a lack of work discipline, disrespect for the law, the easy formulation of demands, and the disruption of production. All these features also weaken the effectiveness of decisions. In the first half of this year, there was not a single day without strikes or strike alerts, or other kinds of disruption which disturbed the manufacturing potential's normal production rhythm. All these facts must be considered if we want to carry out a proper assessment of the government's work. They explain many weaknesses, but they do not explain everything exhaustively. In particular, they do not explain why some public declarations are never fulfilled. I think one should take a close look at whether or not mistakes have been made in the process of economic management itself and whether the concept of activity was appropriate to the conditions, needs, and time available. For one cannot ignore the connection between the development of economic events and the decisions of the state and economic administration. This is particularly important because this is not just a question of history, but of today and the future. Do the decisions that have been taken signal an improvement in or an exacerbation of the difficulties we are already experiencing?

The Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Commission believes that, although a lot of the government's activity was right, mistakes were made nonetheless. Generally, the government's declared and practiced orientation of economic policy toward a market-based economy is correct. There is no alternative to it. Such is the experience not only of Poland. The question of whether or not to restructure our economy according to market principles is no longer a dilemma; the dilemma has been solved and this restructuring will go ahead. However, this restructuring can be implemented well or badly. I think that lately we have experienced proper activity, accompanied by unsuccessful decisions. In particular, the pro-market orientation of the economy has not been accompanied by essential conditions which would guarantee its success. It is naive to expect that throwing the market into the deep end will lead to an automatic improvement in every market sector. There is no question of that. The market can achieve very good results only if financial, institutional, material, and other conditions are met. The very same market can also cause economic chaos, a social crisis, and wage distortions if essential conditions are not met. The government failed to take sufficient notice of all these conditions. Important supplementary activity was also lacking. In particular, there was a failure to halt the excessive outflow of money. The mechanism of shaping incomes, much more liberal than the one in 1988; the relaxation in the structure of prices; and the possibility for enterprises to achieve enormous financial resources quite incommensurate with productivity are some of the negative effects of the systemic solutions that have been introduced and of the economic policy that has been implemented.

These negative effects could be felt to varying degrees in the past as well. This year, however, they have reached, and I do not shirk from using this expression, horrendous proportions. At the beginning of the year not enough attention was paid to budget equilibrium, so that budget expenditures would more or less equal budget

income. As a result, the first half of the year closed with a gigantic budget deficit of over Z3.5 trillion. It should be noted that firm, drastic measures have been taken in this regard recently.

The system of foreign trade has become more liberal. This also possesses a good and a bad side. The good side is that the monopolies on foreign trade have been abolished. The bad side is that no mechanisms have been introduced to steer the stream of exports and imports in the right direction. As a result, there were difficulties with supplying our industry, the joint production links between enterprises broke, and production sometimes ground to a halt. Thus, the effects of exports and imports diminished in many sectors.

There were major shortcomings in legislative work. Although the changes to the system of taxation for enterprises were basically correct, they altered the financial situation of enterprises in a way that had no connection with actual productivity. Many enterprises, for example steelworks, changed from being highly profitable to being virtually bankrupt overnight, because the prices of raw materials were increased by 70-89 percent, whereas the prices of finished goods increased by only a few percent. This could not fail to cause protests in the relevant enterprises. This also applies to other sectors.

In the economic system, the state sector is being discriminated against compared with the other sectors, as a result of which wages in the state sector are less attractive. As a consequence of this, we are faced with the socially negative phenomenon whereby workers are transferring from highly-productive state enterprises to private firms that are less productive, but offer more attractive taxation and wage conditions. It is an alarming fact that more and more modern production lines in light industry are becoming idle because of the exodus of workers. From the point of view of the market and general efficiency, this is an unfavorable phenomenon. One hopes that all these troubles are temporary and that these problems will be solved. Nevertheless, one can no longer delay essential decisions.

A failure to adapt the rules on the forming of companies to the condition of our economy has led to the emergence of parasitic companies that are trading with deficit goods and reaping huge rewards for it. The considerably better wage principles in companies than in state enterprises has led to the phenomenon of converting state enterprises into companies for the sole purpose of circumventing the wage restrictions applicable to the state sector. As a result, the formation of companies has caused wages to rise unjustifiably. The incommensurably high wages in companies give rise to wage demands. No wonder people react the way they do.

The liberalization of the foreign currency market is basically correct, but the way this liberalization has been implemented, without due regard to real conditions, had to cause free-market exchange rates to skyrocket, inflation to soar, and many enterprises to go bankrupt, to say nothing of wages. The foreign currency market is the source of parasitic living on a large scale.

The Commission believes that the present government's obsession with introducing market principles without due regard for conditions is one of the main reasons for the sharp deterioration in the socioeconomic situation. A continuation of the present policy may cause economic collapse and may make society reject the notion of economic reform. The situation is very serious.

The time has come to make essential adjustments to the implementation of this pro-market policy, with a better application of economic knowledge than so far. The commission is in favor of a new economic strategy in those spheres that were discussed at the "roundtable."

What should be done? The matter should be seen in two planes. It is essential to undertake short-term activity over the next 2 or 3 months in every sphere of the economy, and especially those spheres where the fastest results can be expected. For example, there should be major cuts in investments. One cannot understand why in an economy with such difficulties as ours, investments are growing by 10 percent a year, and outlay on so-called building and refurbishing work, involving the consumption of building materials, is growing by as much as 15 percent a year. If the consumption of these materials by enterprises for the purpose of their investments is rising by so much per year, these materials have to be paid for somehow—by reducing the amount of cement, steel fittings, and so on that are available for housing construction.

At the same time, many features of long-term policy require readjustment. I think this policy should be firmly geared to a steady restructuring of the market economy. This is important. At the same time, if the economy is in such a state, one must not shirk from state intervention. Not even capitalist states, in which the market is a fundamental doctrine, hesitate to apply state intervention if major difficulties occur. However, this intervention should help create the conditions for a development of market principles. The primary task is to create objective conditions to implement the principle of enterprise.

We also believe there are spheres where market mechanisms, or at least market mechanisms in the Polish version, would solve no problems. For example, it is an illusion, and a very harmful one, to expect that the problems of steel production can be solved by means of market mechanisms. In Europe, these matters are settled internationally. In Poland, the doctrine of market fundamentalism has triumphed. This is dangerous for the future. We can already see the negative effects of it. Steel production is going to fall by about 1 million tonnes this year, and if the present state of affairs continues, it will fall by another 1.5 million tonnes next year. And how

can our dreams of producing 600,000 cars a year be fulfilled in such a situation? The commission suggests a change of approach to this issue; the creation of a kind of consortium of producers and consumers of metal products, just like in other countries. Such a consortium would agree on the quality and variety of products, financial involvement, and prices. In this way, this important sphere of the economy would be balanced out and its potential increased. That is just one example. Neither will the market solve the major problems besetting the communal infrastructure and transportation. State intervention is necessary in order to create the organizational prerequisites for market expansion.

What does it matter that we abolished the monopolies over the procurement of agricultural produce, if some rural areas only have one organization carrying out this procurement in any case? The state must assume the burden of demonopolizing the economy rapidly and creating and promoting new economic units, in order to create the possibility for competition and the performance of basic market principles.

In order to heal the economy, far-reaching changes in ownership are required. The commission is firmly in favor of many forms of ownership, according to the principle: Let the most efficient economic sector win. The commission asks for an urgent finalization of economic rules and norms so that they conform to the principle of the equality of all sectors—the state, cooperative, private, and communal sectors. The commission also considers it urgent to permit persons holding high offices in the political and state apparatus to hold shares in companies and sit on their executive boards.

Sales of shares should take place in such a way that the state suffers no disadvantage. That is why the commission is in favor of selling shares by auction. There should be no favoritism toward anyone as far as shares are concerned.

Being in favor of workers' "holding shares," we believe that informing workers of this possibility would not only be of great economic value, but also of great social and political value. The commission asked the government a long time ago to work out a system of promoting shares for workers and to make it easier or them to purchase shares.

I am very sorry that this idea has not been given due recognition so far. At least no sign of its acceptance can be noticed in our legislation. And yet this is a very important part of the process of restructuring ownership relations, something which "Solidarity" also wants. I am drawing attention to this matter because a great battle is being waged around this issue not just on the economic front, but also on the ideological and political fronts.

The commission believes that the paths, principles, and extent of altering ownership, including privatization, should be defined by law. Neither a minister, nor the premier, nor anyone else has the right to decide on this matter without the appropriate legal basis. Changes in ownership can only be carried out as a result of sovereign decisions by parliament. The commission asks the PZPR Deputies Club to submit this issue to parliament urgently. At the same time, we believe that, until the Sejm adopts a suitable law on the principles, paths, and conditions for privatization and other changes in the form of ownership, all the current trends to turn public property into private property should be blocked.

The ninth plenum formulated the principle that the party will not relieve state administrative bodies and the government of decisionmaking, and neither will it act as an insurance policy for bad decisions by these bodies. The government now has the possibility of independent action on the basis of a unity of powers and prerogatives. This principle is being implemented consistently. It was affirmed by the National Conference of PZPR Delegates.

However, we cannot refrain from political assessments of the work of party members who occupy ministerial positions on the party's recommendation. Another important task is to pay attention to the sociopolitical aspects of economic decisions. We have an extensive reconnaissance base, we know what people think and feel, and it is our duty to draw conclusions and formulate ideas on this basis. Indeed, we have been doing so. The government has been very busy with many matters and has not paid enough attention to our conclusions, and in many cases did not even react to the problems we raised. The point is conclusions that serve the future. I suggest that once every quarter, party members from the Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Commission should meet with party deputies in parliament and explain to them what the implementation of party policy might mean for the government, and see whether both sides view this policy in the same way and whether we have the same priorities.

The market orientation of the food economy is the chief topic of today. Our commission examined this issue several days ago, and various questions and doubts were raised. Because the commission is not one of those bodies that accepted the 1 August decision about a market orientation of the food economy without a word of criticism, but asked many questions and expressed many doubts, various milieus reacted violently. For example, the United Peasant Party Presidium said that "opinions about a market orientation of the food economy, including that of the Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Commission, confuse public opinion, cause social tension, and create illusions about better times for solving our economy's difficult problems. Any delay in introducing a market orientation of the food economy is a deliberate risk that agricultural output will collapse."

This sharp accusation addressed to the commission has no justification whatsoever in documents. We are

accused of saying things we never said. The commission's official view is contained in point 7 of the stance that was distributed to you today.

Now that this business has been explained, I think it will subside. However, the problem of a market orientation of the food economy remains.

The commission expressed its full support for a program of gearing the food economy to market principles. However, the commission also believes this orientation should be carried out according to the rules agreed at the "roundtable," because the "roundtable" said that the basic features of this orientation must be agreed with the trade unions. The commission believes this operation should take place as quickly as possible, but also as safely as necessary.

The commission viewed the pro-market orientation of the food economy from three angles in particular—from the angle of the farmer; from the angle of the households of workers and pensioners; and from the angle of basic state duties. The commission believes that the program should take into account the need to maintain an appropriate stream of supplies of consumer goods and agricultural production resources to agriculture, so that the increased incomes of farmers are backed by consumer goods and so that there is no more empty money in circulation. For this purpose, the commission calls for rapid changes in the structure of investments and greater material supplies for those industries that produce for the needs of agriculture. Is this necessary? It is.

The commission also considers it essential to quickly abolish the monopoly over the procurement and sale of agricultural produce and abolish the bureaucratic rules that lead to the time of farmers being wasted and slow down the process of rationalizing farming.

And now, the next issue. We are a party of working people. We must also look at this matter from the point of view of the household. We must ask ourselves how and to what extent households will be compensated for the increased prices caused by the pro-market orientation, and how much compensation will be paid to workers and pensioners, and when it will be paid. We also wanted to be certain that there would be no situation where people in some parts of the country have no access to meat.

We were interested in all this because it is the state's duty to see to it that large conurbations receive supplies of meat and meat products. What mechanisms are there to prevent meat gangs? There is no doubt that such gangs will exist. We believe everything should be done in order to ensure the success of this operation and prevent an uncontrolled inflation spiral. For one can easily imagine the following situation: The prices of food go up by 300 or 400 percent, then wages are index-linked to these increases, and then people put forth demands for wage rises. One must remember people's psychological desire to have each zloty "wasted" on increased prices compensated by an extra Z1.5.

We remember what happened in 1988. The government proposed to the National Trade Union Confederation compensation of Z1,700 for the previous price increases, but actually received the go-ahead to pay Z6,000. As a result, instead of bringing economic health, the compensation brought a powerful inflationory spiral.

As for strategy, the focal point of this strategy ought to be a policy of strengthening the zloty and combating inflation. There are two ways in which an economy can function. One is the command-directive system, which we reject, and the other is a market-financial economy, where money is the decisive factor. If we wish to proceed in this direction, and we do wish that, then we must make proper use of the crumbly vessel that is money. So far, this vessel has been very unsteady. Therefore it has to be reinforced. That is why the commission believes that our policy of healing the economy must be clear and comprehensible, and geared to what people understand the most—a strengthening of the zloty.

We are constantly faced with the following dilemma: Should we have an anti-inflationory policy, or an anti-inflationory program? A policy is easier because those who lose out remain anonymous, whereas in an anti-inflationory program the social costs are aimed at someone in particular. However, in the long run, only an anti-inflationory policy may bring results. We have frequently been referring to Wladyslaw Grabski's reforms. It was not a change of currency that healed financial relations and the economy. This was an important factor, but not the main one. In 1924 bold action was undertaken to adapt the purchasing power of money to the economy's capabilities. Steps were taken that were difficult but effective from the point of view of stabilizing the zloty. Will we have the same courage today and meet a similar need?

We are in the throes of a great dilemma, whether to adopt an inflationary policy or an anti-inflationary policy. We had the most effective anti-inflationary policy in 1982-95. At that time we achieved a growth in production and the national income by about 5 percent per year, market equilibrium was quickly re-established, inflation was reduced to 15 percent, and a trade surplus of almost $1.2 billion was achieved.

I am a firm supporter of a policy of strengthening the zloty, an anti-inflationary policy. Curbing inflation is not just an economic question, but a psychological one. It is a political value.

Last September, I met in this hall with almost 500 Central Committee lecturers. We discussed more or less the same problems as today. I said that if, after 1 year as Central Committee economic secretary, I concluded that

my efforts had failed to put the economy on the path of an anti-inflationory policy, I would resign this function. Today I say that, during my year at this post, I have tried to influence economic policy in a way that would halt inflation and strengthen the zloty. The opinions, initiatives, and conclusions in this regard addressed to the government by the Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Commission, of which I have the honor of being chairman, have not been and are still not being heeded. This is a result of differences in views as to the concepts and methods of solving the country's economic problems. Therefore, I ask the Central Committee to accept my resignation from the post of Central Committee economic secretary.

At the same time, I declare that I will spare no efforts to see to it that our policy is geared to a strengthening of the zloty, so that this currency is valued at home and recognized abroad. There really is no reason why Poles cannot have a full-valued currency.

Thank you for your attention.

Parliamentary Chiefs on Future Government
AU0208103789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jul 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Before the Formation of the New Government—Those Consulted Speak"]

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, President Jaruzelski is continuing consultations with the representatives of various political and social forces represented in the Sejm, with a view to forming a new government.

The various party leaders who saw the president on 26 July made the following statements to PAP journalists.

Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Christian-Social Union: "During my talk with President Jaruzelski I had the opportunity to brief him on the views of the Christian-Social Union on the subject of the new premier and the formation of a new government. We believe that the best solution would be a grand coalition government that would include all the political forces represented in parliament." [passage omitted]

"I also voiced my belief that the new government and its premier, regardless of their respective political tendencies, must pay special attention to the policy of recruitment and cadres, and this policy must be based on professional qualifications and ability, rather than party criteria. Access to official posts must be widely open to non-party people who have hitherto been passed by and whose potential has not been utilized."

Wieslaw Gwizdz, chairman of the Polish Catholic Social Club: "My talk with President Jaruzelski lasted under 1 hour." [passage omitted]

"Coming to the crux of the matter, the formation of a new government, I stressed that the future government must be capable of rising to meet the challenge of the overwhelming tasks facing Poland. It must, above all, save the country from economic collapse." [passage omitted]

"Our organization supports a government of coalition in the widest sense, that is, not so much in the political sense, but consisting of professionals, who are as familiar with the practice as with the theory, and who will be motivated by determination, have a sense of realism, and know their own field of speciality." [passage omitted]

Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Confederation of Trade Unions [OPZZ]: "During my talk with President Jaruzelski, the president described to me his vision of the new government and the general characteristics of the eventual premier. I agree with his vision because I personally believe that a grand coalition government would be the best solution for Poland. If we succeed in forming such a government, then the OPZZ unions would nominate someone from their ranks to participate in the ranks of such a government. We would accept any function that the future premier cared to give us.

This, however, will be difficult. I am familiar with Lech Walesa's statement, from which it appears that the opposition will not enter such a government. The opposition leadership is already thinking of the future and of its own government. This has to be taken very seriously indeed.

I believe that, regardless of our personal views, we must think in practical terms and form an efficiently functioning government as soon as possible. It must also be a government that can function effectively. Someone once said that he was going to put right all the things that were wrong. It is important that the future government be a government of action, and not only words. The workers expect this.

The factories will decide what will happen. Either the factory workers will agree to work more intensively for a fair wage, or we shall have social conflict. This is the worst possible way of moving to social justice. It is a well-trodden path in Poland and a very effective one, it would appear. Talking about social justice does not make it happen. I believe that the problems of pensioners were just not understood by the outgoing government. Over four million of the seven million pensioners are now on the poverty line, while at the same time several-hundred-thousand families are repugnantly enriching themselves for the next two or three generations by speculation and manipulation.

Returning to the matter of the new government, our unions will always be against any ineffective government, regardless of its political complexion. We will only

support effective government. My talk with the president was very interesting. I do not know whether I was able to give him the answers to all his questions. I am convinced that this time it is a question of forming a very competent government. It will be a government composed of people who are conscious of their responsibility, because they are taking over an economy in a state of ruin. Such a government can always count on our support."

Janusz Maksymiuk, chairman of the National Union of Farmers, Agricultural Circles and Organizations: "I felt compelled to tell the president what our organization feels about the future government. It must be a government which can gain public support for its policies, which may prove to be unpopular. The best solution would be a grand coalition." [passage omitted]

"As regards the new premier, we believe that if he makes agriculture a top priority, something I hope he does, then we expect the future government to do something positive." [passage omitted]

"I took the opportunity to brief the president on the tense situation on the farms which has resulted from critical conditions prevailing in our agriculture. This situation seriously threatens food production and requires the immediate institution of free market prices in line with the postulates made by our delegates at our congress in April. I informed the president that the object of applying free market prices was not to line the pockets of the farmers but to create normal conditions in farming. This also means that farmers must be given access to modern production methods."

Supreme Court Examines Electoral Protests

LD0308015889 Warsaw PAP in English
2208 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 2—The Supreme Court examined today 15 electoral protests out of which 8 concerned the election of deputy by mandate no. 89 in electoral district no. 22 in Gdynia.

The Supreme Court was of the opinion that the decision made by the state electoral commission to cross Henryk Gora off the electoral list, coupled with the invalidity of the resolution of the authorities of the Polish Catholic-Social Union (PZKS) the member of which Gora was, violated the electoral law. It was also violated by a four-day delay in taking a stand by the state electoral commission after getting acquainted with the resolution of the PZKS national board.

The court underscored that this negligence might have influenced the returns of the elections in the district. Therefore, the protests should be taken into consideration. The court will present its opinion on the issue to the Sejm.

Also today the Supreme court continued to examine a protest lodged by Tadeusz Walicki and other persons against a break of the electoral law in electoral district no. 50 in Krakow.

The way the returns were counted on June 18 in closed polling stations, that is Polish Army and police units, in the district in question raised objections. A slight victory of one of two candidates for the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] mandate also generated doubts.

The Supreme Court decided that the electoral law had not been vilated in district no. 50 and that the protest should not be taken into account.

Polish Historian on Nazi-Soviet Agreements

LD0308101189 Warsaw PAP in English
0933 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 3—Head of Poland's Instytut Zachodni (Western Institute) Antoni Czubinski admitted in an interview carried by today's ZYCIE WARSZAWY popular daily that Western reprints of the non-aggression pacts by the 30 Reich and the Soviet Union of August 23, 1939 along with the secret annexes had been known to Polish historians for many years.

"We regarded these documents as authentic, but we could not discuss them because of censorship. The problem was investigated by the Polish-Soviet joint commission for blank spots as one of the key issues connected with the genesis of the Second World War," Czubinski said, adding that "a group of Soviet politicians demands that the document be regarded as contradictory to the principles of Socialist politics and consequently annulled. Such decision would be of far-reaching consequence, not only in the sphere of ethics and morals but also in politics," Czubinski opined.

Discussing the present state of the Polish-FRG relations, Czubinski assessed that the most important issue of today was to develop good-neighbourly relations with the Germans and to build the Common European Home with enough space provided for all Europeans.

"However, Poland must overcome its internal crisis to be able to actively contribute to building this home. If not, Poles would be tenants who are fully dependent on its builders and owners," Czubinski was quoted as saying.

Envoy Confirms Right of Poles To Return

AU2807175589 Vienna DER KURIER in German
28 Jul 89 p 14

[Unattributed report: "Poland Invites Its Refugees"]

[Excerpt] The Polish Embassy in Vienna confirmed Thursday [27 July] that Polish citizens have the right to leave Poland and to return to their country again. Thus, Poles who applied for asylum or were granted asylum do not have to fear reprisals. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 19-24 Jul

AU3107131689

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 20 to 26 July reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date of each report given in parentheses):

Wojciech Jaruzelski, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Florian Siwicki, and the remainder of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Politburo and Secretariat attended the national day ceremony in Warsaw and laid wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and other war memorials and cemeteries in Warsaw on 22 July. (24 Jul 89 pp 1, 2)

President Wojciech Jaruzelski received Eugeniusz Wyzner, UN deputy secretary general, on 23 July. (25 Jul 89 p 2)

Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received Canadian Ambassador Eric Bergman on 20 July. (21-23 Jul 89 p 2)

Stanislaw Ciosek, member of the Politburo of the PZPR and secretary general of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Accord (PRON), attended a meeting of a special PRON commission dealing with PRON's role in the new sociopolitical situation on 20 July. (21-23 Jul 89 p 2)

Manfred Gorywoda, Politburo member, attended a scout festival in Chorzow on 19 July. (20 Jul 89 p 2)

Alfred Miodowicz, Politburo member and chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation, attended a meeting of trade unionists at the "Warta" cellulose plant in Sieradz on 19 July. (20 Jul 89 p 2)

Gabriela Rembisz, Politburo member, attended a ceremony in Poznan marking the 45th anniversary of the Polish National Liberation Committee Manifesto on 19 July. (20 Jul p 2)

General Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo member and minister of national defense, received General Roman Paszkowski, a veteran of the 1939 struggle, on 19 July. (20 Jul 89 p 2) He received General Eugen Luethy, chief of the General Staff of the Swiss Army, on 20 July. (21-23 Jul 89 p 2)

Central Committee Secretary Zygmunt Czarzasty attended the Czestochowa Voivodship PZPR Plenum on 24 July. (25 Jul 89 p 3)

Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski received new Swiss Ambassador Richard Gaechter on 20 July. (21-23 Jul 89 p 2)

Economic Planning Talks Held With Bulgaria

Balan, Ovcharov Meet

AU0208173389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1643 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/8/1989—On Wednesday, 2 August, Bucharest was the venue of the talks between the delegations of the central planning bodies of Romania and Bulgaria led by Radu Balan, chairman of the State Planning Committee, and by Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. In that framework analysis was made of the evolution of the Romanian-Bulgarian economic relations, of their development possibilities and means.

At the end of the talks, the heads of the two delegations signed a protocol concerning the coordination of the plans of the two countries' national economies over 1991-1995.

Ceausescu Receives Ovcharov

AU0208173589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1708 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/8/1989—The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received on Wednesday, 2 August, Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, now on a visit to Romania.

During the interview reference was made to the fine links of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Bulgaria which develop continuously, in the spirit of the understandings covenanted during the meetings and talks between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov. Emphasis was also placed on the possibilities of more powerfully expanding bilateral cooperation, production specialization and cooperation in production in particular, to manufacture high-performance and high-quality products.

It was assessed that the manysided development of the ties between Romania and Bulgaria was beneficial to both friendly and neighbour countries and peoples, served the general cause of socialism and peace.

The interview was attended by Radu Balan, chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Diplomatic Relations Established With UAE

AU0108074789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0625 GMT 1 Aug 89

["Diplomatic Relations Established Between Romania and United Arab Emirates"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 1/8/1989—The Socialist Republic of Romania and the United Arab Emirates, inspired by the common wish to strengthen and develop the ties of friendship and cooperation between them, have decided to establish diplomatic relations at embassy level as of the first of August, 1989.

Iraqi Peace Delegation Visits 21-28 Jul

AU0108155789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Jul 89 p 5

[Text] A delegation of the Organization of Friendship, Peace, and Solidarity of Iraq led by Husham Ahmed Bagdadi [spelling of name as published], director of the organization, visited our country from 21-28 July 1989 at the invitation of the National Committee for the Defense of Peace.

During the visit, the guests held talks at sociopolitical institutions and organizations and visited economic units and cultural establishments in Bucharest and Buzau County.

During the talks, an exchange of views and information took place on the domestic development of the two countries and the involvement of the Romanian and Iraqi peoples in the struggle for disarmament, cooperation, and peace. The guests expressed words of great appreciation for the achievements attained by the Romanian people and for the position held by our country and by President Nicolae Ceausescu personally on the major problems of today and on ensuring a world of peace and security.

Economic Commission With Ethiopia Opens Session

AU3107175289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1555 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 31/7/1989—The proceedings of the third session of the Romanian-Ethiopian Joint Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Collaboration started in Bucharest on Monday.

The two delegations, led by Irimie Catargiu, minister of mines, and by Tekeze-Shoa Aytenfiso, minister of mines and energy of the Socialist Ethiopia, analyse the current stage of the Romanian-Ethiopian economic relations, the possibilities to develop the bilateral cooperation in fields of common interest, to expand and diversify the mutual goods exchanges.

Trend To Distort Spirit of Helsinki Final Act

AU0108132389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1041 GMT 1 Aug 89

["For a United Europe of Free and Independent Nations"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 1/8/1989—In a commentary in its 1 August issue, marking 14 years since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, SCINTEIA recalls the content of this highly important document, emphasizing

the Romanian contribution to the development of the process of security, collaboration and understanding in the continent at subsequent all-European meetings.

The recalling of the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, the paper points out, is all the more necessary as lately tendencies are manifest which distort the sense and spirit of this document.

In this respect, one may say that compared to the Helsinki Final Act, which marked an important moment in the European political life, the latest all-European meeting in Vienna, marked a step backwards, through the attempts of some states to modify and misinterpret the principles put forward by the 1975 summit conference. This appeared mostly in the attempt to use the humanitarian problems for diversion purposes, as some states took the right to give lessons and judge the situation in one country or another, while the document of the meeting did not contain, as firm pledges of the states, some proposals regarding a number of real humanitarian problems such as: Jobs for all and first of all for the youth, eradication of unemployment, professional training and higher training of the youth, homes for all, elimination of inequalities between men and women economically and socially. Instead, under the pretext of the so-called concerns over human rights and religious freedom, provisions were included in the document which run counter to the principles and spirit of the Final Act, contradict facts in the epoch we live, opening the path to interference in other states' affairs, infringement of national independence and sovereignty. Likewise, provisions were introduced which in fact stimulate emigration and encourage the brain drain, hitting the peoples' socioeconomic interests, of the less developed ones in particular.

One can neither ignore the attempts which have gained scope lately at interference in the socialist countries' home affairs, with the obvious aim to destabilize the situation in these countries, to envenom the political climate in Europe and the world over. The attempts to destabilize the situation in some socialist countries, which are urged to turn toward certain capitalist forms are in flagrant contradiction with the policy of detente and collaboration. Therefore, Romania consistently evinced the imperious requirement to understand that the old policy of interference in other states' affairs, under various forms, of subversion and diversion, should be given up.

Life shows that the implementation of the objectives of security in Europe can be achieved only based on the fact that a great diversity of states exists in the continent—socialist and capitalist, big, medium and small, in various development stages, participating in the two military blocs, neutral and nonaligned countries.

Romania considers that the existence of supranational organisms, as envisaged by certain circles, cannot ensure a Europe of free peoples, but, quite the reverse, would make them sooner or later, lose their independence and freedom. In President Nicolae Ceausescu's conception, a united Europe should not be a rigid system where the policy of the continent is decided in one capital or another, but should be decided by the European peoples together, no matter their size or social system. Romania works for the unity of Europe in the diversity of its social systems, with the preservation of free and independent states—a united Europe in the socioeconomic, scientific and cultural development, of peace and equal collaboration with all nations of the world.

Spokesman Condemns Lebanon 'Terrorist Actions'

AU0308132489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] At the news conference in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs today, the position of our country on the events in Lebanon and concerning Lebanon was presented. Yugoslavia most sharply condemns the latest terrorist actions in the territory of Lebanon and expressed deep regret at the loss of life, Ambassador Ivo Vajgl, press spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, said.

He added that the killing of Lieutenant Colonel Higgins, of the United Nations Peace Force, and the kidnapping of Shaykh 'Ubayd were directed against the peace process in the Middle East and Lebanon. Such acts make a peaceful solving of a very complex and worrying situation in this nonaligned country more difficult.

Stari Trg Miners Continue Strike, End Expected

AU0208141989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] A large number of the miners on the first shift at the Trepca Mine in Stari Trg have continued their strike. Here is a report from Milivoje Mihajlovic:

[Mihajlovic] After the talks with the leadership of the Titova Mitrovica commune and mine, one-third of the miners on the first shift in Stari Trg this morning decided to return to the pit. Other miners, about 200 of them, left for home, refusing to start production until their personal incomes for June had been paid.

It is expected that the personal incomes will be paid today and that, since this is the only reason for a work stoppage, the second shift will probably start normal work. Cazim Salja, president of the provisional management board of the Trepca Mine in Stari Trg, stressed that the measures needed to stabilize the situation in the mine have already been undertaken. A disciplinary process will be started against technical-supervisory staff who have continued the strike. The management is demanding consistent respect for the Law on Associated Labor and Compulsory Work which is still in force in Stari Trg. Salja is of the opinion that this strike, the third strike this year, occurred because of the bad financial situation, unregulated economic relations in the combine, as well as idleness, lack of discipline, and a failure to meet planned tasks.

The Stari Trg miners have been producing only 60 percent of their planned production for months. Stari Trg officials say that other work organizations, except (?the lead flotation plant) which has 1,100 workers, are working nonstop. It is also stressed that this is not a single nationality strike, and that social motives prevail. However, it has also been stated that some individuals, who are working for Albanian nationalism, are manipulating the workers and trying to exploit the grave situation for their aims. Thus, for instance, after this morning's discussion with the leadership, the majority of the workers went to work, but some individuals managed to persuade a fairly large number not to do so.

The Titova Mitrovica League of Communists Communal Committee stressed that the work of the party and trade union organization in Stari Trg has been almost paralyzed in the last few months. Today talks were held with the technical-supervisory staff. They were asked to explain to the workers the difficult situation in the combine, and to point out the possible consequences of a strike in Stari Trg.

Most Miners Return to Work

LD0208142489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—Following a talk with the leaders of the Trepca mine and representatives of the Titova Mitrovica Municipality, most of the miners from the second shift in the Stari Trg mine went down into the pit. According to Mehmet Ajeti, president of the Titova Mitrovica League of Communists Municipal Committee Presidium, funds for the payment of personal incomes have been insured and they will be paid during the day.

Remaining Strikers To Return

AU0208182589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] The strike of the Stari Trg miners will probably end tonight. The majority of the miners on the second shift have started to work. This afternoon the mine started up by paying salaries, and this is expected to last until 2000. Here is a report from Pristina correspondent Milivoje Mihajlovic:

[Mihajlovic] Following the talks with the leadership of the Trepca mine and Titova Mitrovica commune, most of the miners from the second shift in the Stari Trg mine went down into the pit and continued production. The paying of salaries started this afternoon and will be completed by 2000. The mine management expects the miners on the third shift to end their work stoppage tonight, because the sole demand of the striking miners has been met. The Stari Trg miners' third strike this year, which lasted 2 days, was caused by, as the mine officials say, the bad financial situation, unregulated economic relations in the combine, as well as by idleness, lack of discipline, and a failure to meet planned tasks.

Production was stopped yesterday because of a delay in paying salaries for June. Today, only about one third of the miners on the first shift went down into the pit, while the remaining 200 workers left for home. The Stari Trg

leadership has started disciplinary action against supervisory-technical staff which refused to work again today. Regarding the workers, the mine leadership demands the consistent respect of the Law on Associated Labor and Compulsory Work which has been in force since the February strike.

The Stari Trg officials claim that all other organizations, except the Exploitation of Minerals Basic Labor Organization, worked nonstop and that there was no division among the miners according to nationality. They also claim that certain Albanian nationalists are trying to exploit the difficult situation for their own aims. It is feared that this could result in this strike also assuming a political tone.

Further on Serbia Proposal of System Reforms

AU0108201789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 89 pp 6, 7

[Text of a document prepared by the Serbian Presidency's Commission for Social Reforms: "The Basic Stands of the Reform of the Political System"]

[Text] 1. The world of contemporary socialism is faced with the need for profound and immediate social reforms.

The present socialist systems, based on the domination of the whole social life by politics and the ruling strata, have come into open conflict with new conditions and needs for economic and technological development, as well as a further democratic transformation of social relations. This conflict can be resolved only through a radical and comprehensive social reform. The increase in the people's democratic conscience and the mass movements, which resolutely demand better living conditions, more rationality and efficiency in the economy, and the broadening of political freedoms, have become an important factor of social changes. These changes have been strongly opposed by conservative, bureaucratic forces which are relying on the relations established above all within the present political organization. In these relations, the interests of insular ruling groups still outweigh the interests of economic progress and a democratic transformation of society. This is in fact why the changes in the political system have become the key question of a comprehensive social reform which should confirm the original aims and principles of socialism and enrich them with new democratic values and substance.

2. Yugoslavia started reforms in all spheres of social life before other socialist countries. Because of the blockade of the conservative bureaucratic forces, the reform started to seriously lag behind at the end of the 1960's. In addition to a demand for a reform, which comes from the crisis of one model of development and the system of political rule based on it, Yugoslavia today has special reasons for a comprehensive democratic transformation of the economic and political foundations of its socialist system.

The 1974 Constitution Is at Variance With the Original Principles of Yugoslav Socialism

Despite limited changes, the present Yugoslav political system has not bridged the gap between the political organization introduced by the 1974 Constitution and the original principles of Yugoslav socialism, as well as the modern demands and needs for social and economic development. This gap is particularly prominent in the case of democracy and federalism. In practice, the liberating idea of self-management has been explained on the basis of ideology, and has been realized in an incomplete and incorrect way, which has opened the door to political voluntarism and a crisis in the sphere of accountability. Decentralization has not resulted in real democracy, but in the creation of numerous centers of alienated political power and the preponderance of narrow social interests. Society is mainly organized on the nationality principle and has thus been divided into six and, prior to the adoption of the changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, into eight political systems and "national" economies. This process of disintegration has had a particularly adverse effect on internal relations and the development of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, because of the constitutional provisions which infringed on its unity and equality with other republics in the federation. Economic disintegration has resulted in the breaking up of the unity of the Yugoslav market, a slowdown of economic growth and a fall in productivity, a rapid rise in the country's indebtedness and inflation, disparate conditions for conducting economic affairs, and the economically unjustified redistribution of income among the branches of the economy and the regions. Social differences have become deeper and this has infringed on the fundamental principles of socialism. Privileges and monopolies established in this way have become the strongest bastion of bureaucratic nationalism and the antireformist defense of the existing state of affairs. In this way, the power and decisionmaking centers were established outside the legal institutions of the system, and this led to a serious crisis in the sphere of accountability.

Awakened Social Conscience Is the Proof That Radical Reforms Are Inevitable

The existing political system has imposed numerous restrictions on the democratic development of society. The awakened social conscience is today not only proof that a radical social reform is inevitable, but is also a guarantee that it will have a democratic character and that it will succeed.

One of the major shortcomings in the political system lies in the fact that the basis of our federalism consist only of nations, and not of citizens and producers. A community of free and equal peoples and nationalities cannot exist without the simultaneous existence of full freedom and equality among citizens and producers, guaranteed by an appropriate federal constitution and the laws. An authoritarian centralism in which one elite

imposes its will on others is not the only undemocratic system. A loose confederation in which the individual and society are subordinated to narrow and selfish "national" interests at the expense of all other interests is also undemocratic.

Social Ownership Can Be Dominant, But Only If It Is More Competitive

Without democracy as the basis of a political system and without a radical elimination of the gap between the basic principles of socialism and concrete systemic solutions which form the basis of the current political practice, it is no longer possible to surmount the crisis and dissatisfaction, nor to develop socialism as a humane, democratic, and economically successful society.

3. Considering these facts and circumstances, the basic directions of the democratic reform of the political system in Yugoslavia should be:

(1) Ownership Forms. The system and the constitutional provisions should guarantee the equality of conditions for work and for conducting business affairs under all forms of ownership—social, private, collective, and mixed. Only on the basis of greater efficiency and competitiveness will social ownership remain the most developed and most dominant form of ownership and the basis for socialist social relations. The reform demands the full affirmation of work, initiative and entrepreneurialship, the independence of economic entities and their full economic and social accountability. The unified Yugoslav market, without the republican, provincial, and communal isolationism, will create stable and equal general conditions for economic entities to conduct business affairs under all forms of ownership.

As regards social ownership in the public sector (municipal services, big systems—PTT [post, telegraph, and telephone], railroads, and so forth—the social community should be provided with appropriate expanded regulatory and supervisory rights which would correspond to the nature and social role of this form of social ownership, and to the general interests connected with it.

Clear Differentiation Between Self-Managing and Business Functions

(2) Self-management. In its development up to now, self-management has not progressed further from the basic forms of social work, and even within this framework it has not contributed in the right way toward strengthening the workers' influence on decisionmaking and efficiency in conducting business affairs, and has often taken part in the privatization of social property. This is why self-management must be brought into conformity with the demands of the economic reform. In this connection, it is necessary to separate the self-managing functions from business functions. On the other hand, self-management should be further developed in the broader social frameworks (Chambers of Labor in the assemblies, and so forth).

In enterprises and work organizations which conduct their business using privately owned funds or with mixed funds, we should provide and envisage suitable forms of participation, depending on the ownership structure of a particular work organization.

The forms of protecting the workers' self-managing rights and general social interests should also be adapted to these changes.

Self-management also incorporates the forms of local territorial self-management as a form of citizens' direct democratic participation in the management of social affairs.

There Is No Ideological Justification for Anybody's Illegal Activities

(3) The Affirmation of a Law-governed State. The changes in the political system should facilitate the transformation of the party state into a modern and efficient, law-governed state. The state apparatus must function exclusively on the basis of the constitu[illegible]nd the laws, without arbitrariness and without [illegible]al justifications for anybody's illegal activities. [illegible] must guarantee freedom of public criticism, a democratic control over the work of state organs, and the accountability of all public officials. In addition to its usual functions, such as protecting the system and human rights, mediating in disputes, and stimulating and directing social and economic development, a socialist state in the market economy must also assume a part of the responsibility for social protection and safety, regardless of other forms of such protection (such as that provided by trade unions, voluntary organizations, and so forth).

Relationships between legal acts should be established on the principle of conformity of the acts produced by lower communities with those produced by higher communities, with every community having the right to carry out its own acts. The norms of all regulations should be clear and precise so that no space is left for discretionary decisions or arbitrary and different interpretations.

The Constitution should be the basic act which determines and limits all forms of power. This also implies that there will be precise legal regulations in all spheres and that the limits of social entities' accountability will be clearly set.

The protection of constitutional federal laws should be in the hands of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia. The Federal Constitutional Court should establish the instruments needed to eliminate contradictions between the federal and republican constitutions. Constitutional

courts would assume wide powers and responsibility for interpreting the constitution and removing unconstitutional laws and other general acts. The sphere of the constitutional courts' competence should be extended to include disputes concerning elections.

The Federal State Must Have Original Political and Legal Identity and Sovereignty

(4) The Reaffirmation of the Federation. An important part of the political reform refers to abandoning the elements of confederalism and the reaffirmation and reinforcement of a modern federation as a real democratic community of equal peoples and nationalities, and workers and citizens, in which an important role will be played by an efficient federal state based on the original political and legal identity and sovereignty. Only this kind of federation can guarantee the interests of all peoples and nationalities, not only in order to protect their independence, but also make a faster economic and social progress and join in the modern courses of European and world development.

Verbal Offense Should Be Abolished

(5) The Rights and Freedoms of Man and Citizen. The rights of man and the citizen which are the result of the progress of the modern world should be founded on the constitution and should be consistently guaranteed in the Yugoslav political system, which means that these rights cannot be a priori restricted, whether through the law or other regulations, or reduced, or abolished. Arbitrary and discretionary decisions by managing organs regarding citizens' freedoms and rights must not be allowed. It is necessary to guarantee freedom of thought and speech, association, press, and information. Verbal offense should be abolished.

In the domain of the realization and protection of the citizens' rights and freedoms which are an integral part of the unified bases of the system, the constitution should determine the role of the broader social community (all the way up to the federation) in order to effectively protect the constitutional position of citizens in all parts of the country from possible local pressures, abuse, and obstinacy.

(6) Political Pluralism. The political identity of man as a citizen and producer, and national sovereignty are essential prerequisites for a democratic character of Yugoslav society. Political pluralism, as a form of democratic expression of different social interests, ideas, and values, is objectively formed on the basis of profound and open economic and social changes in our country. This assumes the free inclusion in social institutions and processes of a series of new social entities and their interests and needs. This primarily refers to agricultural producers, workers, and entrepreneurs who work with the means of production in the private sector, intellectual creators, and all other strata which are contributing to a faster development of society and its material and spiritual values.

Free Association of Citizens

The working people and citizens have the right to freely organize themselves in various alliances and associations on a democratic and constitutionally guaranteed basis through which they can independently express their interests, stands, and proposals. At the same time, they would be participating, in a suitable way, depending on their own interests, in a democratic dialogue and the building of joint stands within the Socialist Alliance of the Working People and the assembly system, which would be organized in accordance with the social and interest structure of our society. In this democratic process, under the conditions of the political and economic disintegration of society, the integrative role of the League of Communists is important and unavoidable, but it does not give it the right to retain the monopolistic political position. This requires abolishing all institutions which are an expression of a monopoly and the collusion of the League of Communists with the state, such as sociopolitical councils, committees for all people's defense and social self-protection, the monopoly of various closed cadre bodies, the interference of party organs in economic affairs, conditioning elections with the moral and political suitability, and so forth.

At the same time, sociopolitical organizations must attain full independence and act in accordance with the interests and demands of its membership. In this way, these organizations would cease to be an instrument and transmission belt of the League of Communists.

The transformation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, whose existence as the broadest political organization of citizens continues to be justified, should enable citizens and their organizations and associations to express their interests and fight for their realization. The Socialist Alliance of Working People should be adapted to the social structure of its membership. In addition, various citizens' associations and alliances, depending on their nature, are in a certain way taking part in the Socialist Alliance of Working People and its activities. At the same time, an independent and autonomous position of the trade union organization would be developed in relation to the League of Communists, the state, and business organizations. This organization would concentrate its activities on the major questions that are of vital interest for different groupings and different strata of producers, particularly economic and social questions.

Political pluralism assumes abandoning the obsolete political practice and its undemocratic features manifested in indirect elections and the political monopoly of informal groups, as well as full respect and application of democratic principles such as: free and direct elections,

openness of officials' work, freedom of criticism, personal accountability, freedom of association and respect for all personal and collective rights and freedoms of the people, wider application of direct democracy, above all of referendum, as undeniable achievements of this civilization.

Bearing in mind the fact that socialism is in a transitional period of development, one should not exclude the possibility of other forms of pluralistic political organizing, provided that it is realized on the democratic and socialist basis within Yugoslavia's framework.

(7) The Rationalization of Social Institutions. Our society and economy are burdened by a great and expensive network of unnecessary institutions and excessive normativism. A number of such institutions, which have not proven themselves in practice, should be rationalized or abolished (sociopolitical councils, self-managing interest communes, the delegates' system, and so forth). It is necessary to reduce the number of legal acts and ordinances and improve their quality. At the same time, we should prevent any attempts to multiply regulations, especially in general self-managing acts.

(8) Openness for Democratic Achievements and Modernization. In the political system we should expand the opportunities for applying direct democracy, and comprehensively develop political activities and initiatives of the citizens. Under modern conditions it is necessary to analyze the conditions for introducing people's initiative, for extending referendums on questions that are of general importance to all Yugoslav citizens, to a fuller guarantee of new human rights (ecological, and so forth), for accepting new forms of controlling the work of state organs, for the introduction of popular law suit [popularna tuzba], for the protection and nurturing of the public information media, for citizens' participation, and so forth. These and similar categories and forms of democracy should broaden the systemic foundations of democratic political culture and contribute to the socialization of political and personal accountability of people in public life. This is of great importance for the democratic integration and faster development of socialist society and the country as a whole.

On the basis of presented basic directions of the political reform, one should carry out important changes in the basic forms and institutions of the political system. They should encompass:

(1) Election System. The election system should above all ensure free elections. This implies the freedom to nominate candidates and the democratic nature of nomination process, more candidates at elections, and the secrecy of elections. It is necessary to remove the power of various cadre bodies to influence the drafting of candidate lists. In order to ensure as wide democracy as possible and increase responsibilities during the election process, groups of citizens should be allowed to nominate a candidate with their signatures.

The election system should be adapted to the pluralism of interests and the forms that express it. The Socialist Alliance of the Working People, as the broadest political organization of citizens, should ensure a democratic process during elections.

(2) Assembly System. The assemblies of sociopolitical communities should be more consistently set up as legislative bodies and bodies which control the application of the law.

The structure of the republican and provincial assemblies should be founded on two bases, on the citizen and the producer. This means that assemblies should become two-house assemblies—they would comprise the Chamber of Citizens and the Chamber of Labor. The bicameral principle would be respected in the decisionmaking processes in these assemblies. The electoral base of the Chamber of Labor would be made up of the working people employed in either the social, mixed, collective, or private sectors. It would be elected according to a functional principle rather than a territorial principle, because the territorial principle would be in contradiction to its character. The Chamber of Citizens would affirm the citizens as political subjects. This chamber would work on the principle of one citizen, one vote. In the Federal Assembly, in addition to these two chambers, there would also be a National Chamber.

Beside a legislative role, the assembly would also have to have a supervisory role over the executive-managing authorities. This function would, inter alia, be realized through a change in the system of a vote of confidence in the organs with executive powers. The political-supervisory function of the assembly would also bind the assembly to continuously monitor the application of the law and the implementation of policies.

The functions of the present presidencies of the republics and provinces are not such that they justify their existence as special institutions. The desirable lifting of the institutional burden that rests on the political system could be realized through abolishing these institutions and transferring their duties to the assemblies and executive councils, according to the nature of these organs' duties. (3) Executive and Administrative Organs. The executive councils should be organized as independent executive bodies, which would be subject to the control of appropriate assemblies to which they will be accountable.

In the executive-legal sphere it will be necessary to establish and ensure the accountability of sociopolitical communities for the implementation of the rules which they have introduced themselves. This would guarantee the legality and efficiency of the state and would protect the citizens' rights. In this sense, a broader community should have the wider direct powers needed to effectively ensure the execution of its regulations. This implies the possibility of broader communes' forming branch organs and organizational units in the territory of

narrower communes. The management organs should be, as they have been up to now, independent in performing their duties and should be accountable for carrying them out. Regarding operational accountability, the management organs should primarily be accountable to the appropriate executive councils. A better form of organization for carrying out management duties would be for the management organs to set up branch organs.

Courts Are Assisting the Rule of Law

(4) Independent Judiciary. An independent judiciary is one of the basic democratic categories without which there would be no rule of law (a law-governed state). The elements of an independent judiciary are: permanent judges, a stable system of financing the judiciary, rigorous expert and moral criteria in appointing judges, the elimination of the possibility of arbitrariness in dismissing judges in cases established by the Constitution and the law, unified extra-legal means, and precise and clear laws.

A solution under which judges in regular courts and public prosecutors are elected by the federal, republican, and provincial assembly—since this would be a powerful means of preventing pressure on the officials in the judiciary—is also in line with this. The essential guarantees of the independent position and social role of the judiciary should be established by the federal Constitution.

The powers of the federal court in inter-republican disputes, as well as in disputes concerning economic matters arising from the application of the federal laws, should also be defined. The federal court should also be empowered to deal with extraordinary legal measures invoked as a result of the violation of federal laws.

(5) Commune. New solutions should supersede the present autarkic position of the communes in the system, especially in the sphere of the economy where the commune needs to be bereaved of its regulatory powers. In the future, the commune should primarily be developed as a unit of democratic local self-management. We should abandon the monotype model of commune and facilitate the formation of several types of communes, depending on local conditions and circumstances. In the future, a commune should not organize or finance all the state's functions (such as the judiciary), nor should it contribute to joint and general social needs which are set by the republican acts as the general and compulsory standard (for instance: education, health, and so forth). The state should finance its basic functions in a unified way. This would not be centralism, but the realization of the equality of citizens. The communes should be enabled to freely associate in some natural, unified entity and in the regions in order to assert their common interests and coordinate with the republic.

(6) Autonomous Province. The position and functions of the autonomous provinces as separate sociopolitical communities, and forms of political and territorial autonomy should be based on their specific traits regarding the national composition and other socioeconomic, historical, and cultural peculiarities. They cannot have the features peculiar to the republics as state communities. Their rights regarding the manner and the number of their representation in the organs of the federation should be determined by the SFRY Constitution.

(7) Republic. The republics should be defined as democratic sociopolitical communities, legal states, and federal units in a common federal state. The republics should consistently guarantee national equality and ensure the forms of its implementation and protection.

The Republic of Serbia, considering that it is the only republic to have autonomous provinces within it, implements the rights and duties of a republic on its entire territory, except regarding the rights and duties of the provinces determined by the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Clear, Modern, Democratic Yugoslavia

(8) Federation. The reform of the political system demands a clear and definite concept of the state system. Yugoslavia should be a modern, democratic, and efficient federation, which includes: national equality in questions essential for the common existence of the nations, representation of man as citizen and producer in the federation, wide rights for an independent organization of the republics as federal units, indispensable collection of federal functions, and efficient means to implement these functions. In order that the federation may implement these demands, it must be acknowledged to possess an original state and legal identity and sovereignty which, among other things, implies powers, measures, and instruments that can be neither a remnant nor a part of the rights transferred or allotted by the federal units, but must be an expression of its original power. Such a collection of federal functions, and the manner of implementing them do not mean centralism or unitarianism, but are an elementary prerequisite for the functioning of society and the economy, and the development of the country as a whole.

In addition to the protection of the national interests, the protection of the general social interests, as well as of the interests and rights of citizens, should also be affirmed in the federation. The federation should protect the freedoms and rights guaranteed by the federal Constitution, without which there is no equality and legal security of its citizens, and this inevitably demands that certain protective functions in the federation should be uniform. In addition, the federation should ensure a unified market; national defense; security; uniform foundations

of the political, economic, and legal system; uniform foundations of the education system; scientific and technical development; and a unified system of the environment.

The federation should be enabled to influence actively the economic development and regulate the economic currents, if need be. It must be empowered to conduct a unified economic policy, implying a unified monetary and fiscal policy as well as the regulation of economic relations with foreign countries. In this way one should ensure equal conditions for business operations in a unified Yugoslav market, which creates the necessary competition and economic selection of enterprises.

Among the federal organs, only the national chamber and, to some extent, the SFRY Presidency should be formed on the principle of parity, since they need not be designed as common organs of the republics and provinces. The national chamber should be elected at general and direct elections by the citizens in the republics and provinces. The members of the SFRY Presidency should be elected by the Federal Assembly and should be accountable to it.

Decisionmaking in the Federal Assembly should combine a system of decisions being adopted by a simple or qualified majority and a system of unanimity (consensus), which should be reduced to a small number of questions within the powers of the national chamber specifically listed in the Constitution. The national chamber should not act on a confederalist principle. Such a solution would not suit a democratic federation, and especially not one in which the peoples are intermixed in the federal units, as they are in Yugoslavia, because it would include the possibility of national assimilation of the minority people. In addition to the nation, citizens as political factors and workers as creators of material and spiritual values should be affirmed as decisionmaking factors in the federation. In the Citizens Chamber of the Federal Assembly, citizens are to be represented according to the principle of one representative to a uniform number of citizens, and the workers are to be represented according to the principle of functional representation of the various fields of work, applying the principles of the number of workers and of their share in income generated at the same time. The Federal Assembly is to make decisions according to a bicameral principle, in conformity with the principles of modern federalism.

The prerequisite for all institutional reforms in the federation is an appropriate policy of electing cadres to federal organs. This policy should proceed from Yugoslav standards and should firmly guarantee the inviolability of the position of federal officials in relation to narrower interests.

The Constitution Must Be Succinct, Bereaved of Empty Rhetoric and Non-Legal Provisions

(9) Character of New Constitutional System. The stands and proposals presented assume a new constitutional system which should set firm foundations for a democratic development of the country, a reliable pillar for the market-planned economy, for citizens' freedoms and rights, for a democratic federation of equal peoples and nationalities, and for an efficient federal state.

In accordance with the new concept of economic organization, we should abandon the present extent to which the constitution interferes in economic matters. Economic relations should be presented in the constitution as concisely as possible, and the economy should be enabled to organize itself on the principle bases of such constitutional provisions, and according to its needs.

The constitution should be a succinct and concise legal act, bereaved of empty rhetorics, ideological and general, and of non-legal provisions.

With this document, the Commission for Social Reforms of the Serbian Presidency has realized part of its responsibilities for the implementation of the conclusions of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly that the preparatory work on a new SFRY Constitution should commence.

Presidency Member Endorses Reforms

AU0208175489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 89 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Document About Country's Vital Questions"]

[Text] Judging by their openness, tolerance, and honesty in approach, the recently published bases of the reform of the political system, which were drafted by a Serbian Presidency's commission, represent a document of special importance. The document provides the basis for a substantive discussion on the vital questions concerning the country's development and the building of a democratic community of equal people.

In my view, it was high time to seriously approach talks in Yugoslavia, without which, I believe, no nation or nationality in our country will benefit.

This approach is based on the maximum respect for human rights in accordance with the best traditions of Yugoslavia's democracy.

The bases, which are Yugoslav-oriented, are consistent and, if I may say, technologically sound, without any superfluous elements. In brief, we are talking about the right questions at the right time.

The Commission's answer is the right answer for the growing criticism in some countries about democracy and human rights in Yugoslavia. This was stated by Professor Dragutin Zelenovic, member of the SFRY Presidency.

VJESNIK on Proposals

AU0208133189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Aug 89 p 13

[Dragan Djuric commentary: "Serbia—Program. And the Others?"—reprinted from Zagreb VJESNIK]

[Text] ...The replies to the Serbian Presidency's document on the reform of the political system that will come from the other republics are not important for Milosevic's actual policy in the internal distribution of forces. We are really talking about an autonomous policy whose basic motto is, play the political game by always making the first move, that is, always take the initiative. By applying these rules of the game, it becomes quite unimportant what a groggy opponent thinks about all this, and the only rule of the game is not to allow him one moment to catch his breath. As the well-informed claim, this is noted in all practical manuals intended for conducting a "high-temperature" policy....

Those who know the circumstances could have predicted what the fighting would be about even before the commission published its proposal. There will be fighting about the view of relations in the federation, in which respect, as can be seen from this document, the 1974 Constitution is disputed. Thus, in the stands of Milosevic's commission it will be noted, among other things, that "the present Yugoslav political system has not bridged the gap between the political organization introduced by the 1974 Constitution and the original principles of Yugoslav socialism, as well as between the modern demands and needs of social and economic development." It has been generally assessed that decentralization has not led to real democratization, but to "an undemocratic and loose confederation in which the individual and society are subordinated to narrow and selfish national interests." Here it is not appropriate to mention that confederalism is not necessarily the whole evil of this world, because both the rule of law and the democratic achievements of modern society can function quite well in a confederation, which has been proven by their application in several highly-developed Western countries.

However, regardless of what people have thought about the proposal from Milosevic's commission and what criticism they have leveled at it, the fact is that this involves a comprehensive and complete program, while in other parts of Yugoslavia calls for reason and tolerance can generally be heard. Therefore, at the moment when this program became a reality on the Yugoslav political stage, silence prevailed in the other parts of the country—although very precise stands exist on a range of burning issues—in the sense of a failure to speak out through a complete program. Moreover, they are on the defensive as far as programs are concerned.

League of Communists Congress Preparations Viewed

AU0208105489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 89 p 5

[J. Radovanovic, D. Bisenic report: "United, and No Competing Platforms"]

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jul—The preparations for the 14th Congress are gaining pace, so that another five sessions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] will be held by the end of the year with the aim of preparing the congress, it was said at today's session of the Committee for Preparing the Extraordinary 14th LCY Congress which was chaired by Milan Pancevski, president of the committee and president of the Central Committee of the LCY.

After a short report presented by Ivica Racan, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and head of the working group preparing the document on the reform of the political system, the committee members voiced several criticisms, of which the main one was: The League of Communists [LC] must prepare a unified ideopolitical platform and not make public the different, mutually conflicting platforms in parts of the LCY.

More Work, Less Waiting

Krste Markovski commented that the work on these platforms has not been synchronized since two statements appeared at the same time: One from the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia which said that, because of the delay of the SFRY Presidency in launching an initiative for passing the new constitution, this work should be entrusted to the SFRY Assembly, and the second one from the SFRY Presidency saying that it will present the public with an initiative by the middle of September. Dr Stipe Suvar cleared up the confusion recalling that the state Presidency had not worked with a full membership for 2 and ½ months and it had not managed to complete the work done by its predecessors, but that it would definitely present the public with an initiative in early fall.

Bogdan Trifunovic said that the least amount had been done in preparing the documents on the reform of the political system and most work was to be done in this area, which should be finished by the congress. At a time of crisis, tension, differences, conflicts, mud-slinging, and mutual suspicions, it is very important that we start the congress with a unified platform of the reform of the political system, said Trifunovic. More intensive work on this platform would prevent the estrangement of parts of the LC, which was evident, and lead to unification.

Boris Muzevic also thought that unified stands for a new constitution must be prepared as soon as possible and that different platforms must not be created, for which support would be sought in "one's own" community and around which different forces would rally and come into conflict.

Reacting to Muzevic's speech, Bogdan Trifunovic said that no working group can be expected to work and prepare everything by itself, while others waited. It is usual for the proposals on changes to the political system to be prepared in republican LC organizations because they all have their own congresses and, apart from that, it is better for there to be more work on these proposals and less waiting, because there is very little time as it is.

Stanko Radmilovic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY and leader of the working group for preparing the document devoted to the economic reform, briefed the committee members on the work done so far and the dilemmas which still exist concerning some key orientations, ranging from the treatment of ownership in socialism, through macroeconomic reform, to the way to wipe out inflation.

Stefan Korosec said that the idea has been mooted that, as well as the resolutions that are being prepared, it would be worth formulating one general document which would, in fact, briefly and clearly formulate the LCY's concept of the way out of the crisis. It would have to contain the clearly defined stands and conclusions of the LCY on the basic directions for the development of our society; the type of development of democracy in society that the party advocates; the party's stands on political pluralism; the reform of the political system; how the LCY thinks that it will approach economic reform; what tasks it has in welfare policy; what its main directives are on the international scene; what stands it has on conservation and environmental protection; an orientation on which direction to take to complete its own transformation.

Novo Vujosevic expressed the fear that this way of working would only produce a collection of documents which contradict each other, as it is not known which is the main document and what is the main concept of the documents.

Consensus and Independence

The basic point of departure in the work on the changes to the Statute was how to protect and facilitate democracy and responsibility and the equality and initiative of the members through the statute, and how to carry through deregulation and permit a more flexible association and organization of members in the LCY, said Ivan Brigic in the introductory speech on changes to the LCY Statute. "No demands for efficiency can justify restrictions and the replacement of democratic relations and methods of activity with bureaucratic and sectarian methods of activity," stressed Brigic.

In the work of the committee so far, most differences have been over questions of democratic centralism and the initiative that decisions on essential, basic programmatic orientations (at the congress and in the Central Committee of the LCY) can be made only through the consensus of the agreement of the republican organizations. The commission thinks that mechanisms should be perfected which prevent the exploitation of the principle of being obligated to carry out instructions, particularly if the independence and initiative of LC members is taken away, but, on the other hand, it is necessary to prevent the minority from obstructing the decisions of the majority.

Great differences also exist over the questions of the independence of republican and provincial LC organizations and, in this connection, the ideological action and the unity of action of the LCY.

The commission thinks that the independence of the LC's of the republics and provinces should be reflected through "the increased responsibility of the leaderships of the LC organizations of the republics and provinces for implementing the policy and stands of the LCY," said Brigic, among other things.

If we proceed from the stands of the First Conference and the 13th LCY Congress, then the LCY should be perceived as one of the political organizations within the pluralistic political area; therefore, it is difficult to speak in advance about its leading role and revolutionary character, believed Borut Suklje.

Suklje said that, regarding the introduction of the majority vote in the LCY, this does not involve the formal institutionalization of the majority vote, but the inability of one part of the organization to force itself on the other parts and the ability of the part that is outvoted to protect itself.

Reducing the Number of Members of the LCY Central Committee

Petar Skundric thought that we must proceed from the goal, and the goal is the realization of the vanguard role. Proceeding from the reality of political pluralism, it is very important to underline the importance of the unified and effective work of the LC.

Commenting on the proposals for "introducing the majority vote," Skundric said that no one had the majority in the LCY Central Committee and there has been no outvoting. A decision is made on the basis of the initiative that was launched. It is also not true that decisions are made in the LCY Central Committee which are of key importance for the development of society, but that political decisions are made on the basis of congress orientations. Regarding the proposals for introducing an executive organ, Skundric said that conditions had not been created for a purely executive organ. In this case, the LCY Central Committee would

have to meet every other week and the situation would arise whereby there would be more sessions of the LCY Central Committee than sessions of basic LC organizations.

The committee also discussed the draft decision on the number of members of LCY organs. The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee will propose that the Central Committee makes the decision that there should be 129 members of the LCY Central Committee and that the statutory and regulatory commissions have 15 members each. In the LCY Central Committee, 15 members would be chosen from the organizations of the republican LC's and 11 members each from the provincial LC's and the LC in the Yugoslav People's Army. The public discussion at the basic LC organizations will establish the number of members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

Momir Grbovic said that the view was expressed during the consultations that if the number of members of the LCY Central Committee were to be reduced, it would be difficult for it to reflect the structure of the membership, particularly the structure in those parts where there is a greater number of LC members and where the membership is nationally mixed. The question of the proportional representation of LC members was put forward in the platform for the transformation of the LCY. In the opinion of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, this principle cannot be approached at this stage, but it must be discussed in a well-argued way within the framework of discussions on the changes to the statute.

In Boris Muzevic's opinion, the number of members of the LCY Central Committee should be radically reduced to "between 70 and 90." This would ensure diligence, efficiency, and unity. If it is said that large organizations will not be satisfied then the initial stand is destroyed which says that things proceed from the membership and the LC basic organizations. The members and the LC basic organizations should demonstrate their activity in their own communities, and it should not be necessary for their representation to be formalized, thought Muzevic, because in that case even 165 members would be too few.

The committee considered what has so far been done in the preparations for the 14th Extraordinary Congress.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Great Differences

We concluded at the commission that the document should work out the foundations for the unity of the LCY, how this should be achieved, and how to provide real responsibility for basic deviations from the policy established in the LCY.

Great differences exist among the republican LC's concerning these positions of the republican LC's which are occur, above all, over the issue of decisionmaking in the LCY Central Committee and at the LCY congress, which is also expressed in the demand that essential questions of the program and Statute of the LCY (questions of the development of socialist self-management, the federal order, the equality of peoples, the role of the LC in society) can be decided only through a consensus of the republican and provincial LC organizations. These questions were also put forward in the document "Basic Directions for the Transformation of the LC," but a thorough discussion has not been carried out on this yet, nor has the necessary minimum of agreement been reached. (Ivan Brigic)

Outvoting

The commission thinks that a procedure for harmonizing views and stands and eliminating obstacles in the LCY should be regulated in the statute if any republican or provincial LC organization is outvoted when it comes to the basic programmatic orientations for the development of a socialist self-managing society, the federal character of the Yugoslav community, and the equality of the peoples and nationalities within it. The commission thinks that this would not weaken the unity of the LCY and that consensus would not be introduced into the LCY, but it would permit a democratic way of making decisions which is in line with the essence of relations and the democratic tradition of the LCY. (Ivan Brigic)

Vukotic Explains Why Resigning From Presidium

AU0208133489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 89 p 8

[D. Becirovic report: "Perko Vukotic, Member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Offered His Resignation"]

[Text] Titograd, 25 Jul—Dr Perko Vukotic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], has offered his resignation as a member of the the Presidium, and has informed the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Montenegro about it. His resignation will probably be discussed tomorrow at the session of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee.

In a fairly long resignation statement, Dr Perko Vukotic said among other things: "I am aware of the confusion among the members of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee and the public, caused by the fact that I, as a member of the Republican Committee for All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, attended the session of the Montenegrin Presidency and the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium on the night of 7 October 1988, when the Montenegrin Presidency decided to introduce urgent measures to prevent extraordinary circumstances. Therefore, I am of the opinion that it is

necessary that my political conduct in the October events, and before and after them, be examined. Until everything is objectively analyzed and assessed it is quite normal that arbitrary remarks will be made in the public and that the feeling of mistrust in me will be expressed. I cannot and do not want to carry out my duties as a member of the LCY Central Committee under such circumstances."

Vukotic then goes on to say: "This resignation does not mean bowing in front of malicious insinuations, or admitting that they are true, or running away from bearing possible consequences for everything that I have done as a man and communist. On the contrary; by tendering this resignation I wanted to come out from behind the shelter of my duties in the LCY so that my political and public work can be analyzed and assessed as quickly, easily, and objectively as possible."

Dr Perko Vukotic states that on 13 February he was proposed as member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium against his own will, but that he had agreed to be elected to this post because of the Montenegrin LC's need to be represented in the Presidium and because of "limited availability of cadres at that time." He said that he had agreed to remain in this post until the 10th Congress of the Montenegrin LC and to voluntarily carry out his duties. He also said that he did not tender his resignation as a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in May because he was too busy with the preparations of the draft conclusions adopted at the 23d LCY Central Committee plenum on the current political situation in Kosovo.

Ortega Expected To Attend Nonaligned Summit

AU0208190389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jul 89 p 6

[TANJUG report: "Ckrebic Returns From Managua"]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul—Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega will attend the ninth summit of the heads of states or governments of nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

This was confirmed in Managua during the talks between Dusan Ckrebic, member of the Presidium of Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez and other top officials. Dusan Ckrebic visited Nicaragua on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution.

The Nicaraguan side also expressed interest in strengthening the Nonaligned Movement on its original principles.

Congolese President Invited to Summit

AU0208190789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jul 89 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Lazaroski in the People's Republic of the Congo"]

[Text] Kinshasa—The day before yesterday, Ange Poungui, prime minister of the People's Republic of the Congo, received Jakov Lazaroski, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, who is attending the fourth congress of the Congolese Labor Party in Brazzaville.

Lazaroski used the occasion to hand to the Congolese prime minister the invitation of Yugoslavia's President Janez Drnovsek to the Congolese President Sassou-Nguesso to attend the ninth summit of nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

Lazaroski briefed Poungui on the preparations for the ninth summit. They also discussed relations between the two countries and the two parties.

Ckrebic Holds Talks With Brazilian Communists

AU0208194989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Aug 89 p 10

[TANJUG report: "Dusan Ckrebic in Brazil"]

[Text] Rio de Janeiro, 31 Jul—Overcoming economic crises does not depend only on one country's efforts but also on the cooperation and greater understanding of the creditor countries for developing countries which are facing economic difficulties.

This was stated in the talks between Dusan Ckrebic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and the General Secretary of the Brazilian Communist Party, Salomao Malina, and the leadership of the Democratic Workers Party of Brazil during his brief visit to this country.

It this context, they positively assessed the intention of nonaligned countries to devote more attention to the debt problem of developing countries at the forthcoming summit of nonaligned countries in Belgrade this September.

Nationalist Incidents in Croatia Increasing

AU0208163189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jul 89 p 12

[TANJUG report: "Nationalist Incidents Increasing"]

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Jul—According to the information of the Croatian Secretariat for Justice and Administration, there has been an increase in the number of disturbances of public peace and order in terms of nationalist insults,

incitement of national intolerance, hatred, and divisions. Last year, criminal charges were brought against 34 people for committing these offenses, while in the first half of 1989 alone charges were brought against 36 people.

Among those who violated the law in the first half of this year (74 in total), there are 108 Croats and 27 Serbs [all figures as published], while the rest declared themselves to be of a different nationality. The greatest number of these offenses, about 90 percent, was committed under the influence of alcohol.

A new wave of excesses was register during and after the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in the Knin region at the beginning of this month. In July alone, there were 21 excesses from the positions of Croatian nationalism in which 41 persons took part. There were also 14 incidents involving Serbian nationalism in which 46 persons took part.

Smederevo Students Attacked in Sibenik

AU0208162989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 89 p 5

[R.C. report: "They Did Not Want To Go to Beach Accompanied by Militia"]

[Text] Smederevo, 27 Jul—A group of 178 pupils and their teachers from Smederevo and the surrounding villages of Osipaonica, Lugavcina, and Saraoci returned to Smederevo early this morning. They returned home before the end of their vacation in Pirovac near Sibenik because they were attacked by a group of hooligans.

According to what was said by the visibly disturbed and frightened boys and girls, who are between 7 and 14 years old, everything started about 2200 when a group of young men appeared in the camp in which the Smederevo children were staying. They first lit a fire. When the fire blazed up, teacher Aleksandar Cagranov and the instructor of physical education, Zoltan Pasti, who is also a policeman in the Smederevo Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and a karate and judo expert, reacted.

The three young men ran away, but about 15 minutes later returned with a group of 15-20 friends armed with poles. While they were breaking down the entrance door, and everything else in front of them, they were shouting: "We'll kill you all tonight." Aleksandar Cagronov tried to stop them but was beaten with poles. There was real confusion in which Zoltan Pasti fired a warning shot in the air. The hooligans ran away. The frightened children and their teachers were given police protection until the following morning.

The citizens, working people, and sociopolitical organizations of Smederevo today appealed to the citizens, working people, and sociopolitical organizations of Sibenik to undertake energetic measures in order to prevent the further deterioration of good relations between Smederevo and Sibenik. It was decided that the next group of pupils should not go to Pirovac, because, as stated, the holiday would not be fun if the militia has to escort the pupils to and from the beach.

National Romany Association Established

LD2907191389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jul (TANJUG)—The Romanies in Yugoslavia are still not equal with the other nations and nationalities. They do not have their press, TV, and radio programs, while in Serbia, where half of them (350,000) live, they do not have even one representative in the republican organs, said Sait Balic, President of the World Romany Congress, at today's founding assembly of the Yugoslav Romany Association. He expressed his belief that the association will enable Romanies to have their nationality status recognized. He said this would be an initial step toward their wider emancipation.